

cointelpro then...

TO: SAC, ALBANY (157-1064)
FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-3937)
SUBJECT: WESLEY COOK, aka
"Murda"
EN - BPP

Re Albany letter to Philadelphia, 3/27/72, Philadelphia letter to Albany, 1/27/72, and New York letter to Philadelphia, 1/11/72.

For information of Albany, WESLEY COOK is a Category II Administrative Index subject from Philadelphia who has been associated with the BPP, and in the recent past has written articles for the BPP - Cleaver Faction, Newspaper Babylon.

LEADS

ALBANY

AT PLAINFIELD, VT.

1. Obtain the campus address of COOK.

2. I from COOK's re
3. A COOK is attend
Federal money.

2 - Albany (157-1064)
(2) - Philadelphia

(4)

Memorandum
TO: SAC
FROM: SA
SUBJECT:

TO: SAC
FROM: SA
SUBJECT:

Date of Contact:
Title and title of
BPP
BPP - Pub

Hiroshima
Purpose and results of
NEGATIVE
POSITIVE
STATISTICAL R
unclassified

Source said there were several speakers from new left groups and one soldier who supposedly is now in the service. Attendance was over 200. There were no incidents. One of the speakers was the minister of information for the BPP (Philadelphia) who gave an extemporaneous speech and called RIZZO a pig. Source said the BPP member who spoke was WESLEY (LNU) and he said the usual trash about the oppressor and the roll of the Vanguard interspersing his talk with the usual obscenities.

Information confirmed that he has furnished all information obtained by him since last contact. Excellent

Coverage

Excellent

157-3937-
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
AUG 1 1969
FBI - PHILADELPHIA

Transmit the following in _____ Type _____
Via Airtel

To: SAC, Philadelphia (157-3937)
From: Director, FBI (105-1)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
PHILADELPHIA DIVISION
RACIAL MATTERS

ReSyllet 11/6/70 furnishing information from

Referenced letter indicated that Wes Cook, BPP member in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, advised [redacted] of BPP national headquarters on 10/13/70 that Cook had started a city-wide "BSU newsletter and was calling it 'National Black Liberation News.' [redacted] approved the publishing of the paper.

Philadelphia immediately determine if Cook is in Philadelphia and if the paper is to be published in Philadelphia. If so, complete details concerning its staff, printing, distribution, financing and other pertinent details

id be furnished published.

on that [redacted] es "in the

157-3937-11/5

7/2/71

157-3937-104

7/10/73

and telephonically interview, [redacted] at 5:00

Philadelphia, PA, appeared at the FBI Office and furnished the following information:

COOK was very active in the BPP during his junior and senior year at Benjamin Franklin. He was the Communications Secretary for the BPP Chapter in Philadelphia. COOK passed out BPP literature at the high school, held informal speeches and BPP rallies on the school property which eventually resulted in getting him expelled from Benjamin Franklin.

COOK made the BPP look good because his approach was very positive. COOK told students how the BPP could help the community; how the BPP was going to open a radical center and a free breakfast program for children.

(COOK)

Claustrophobia

(BPP) is contained in the Appendix.

SUMMER 1995, ISSUE 6

Wes Cook departed New York City for San Francisco, California on April 21, 1970 aboard American Airlines Flight 59.

abolitionist journal and newsletter

On May 22, 1970, a third source advised that Wes Cook was now working on the BPP newspaper.

DECLASSIFIED ON 7/1/85 BY 243,204

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 11/21/94 BY 60333 392-001 1-9

157-3937-101
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
JUL 25 1970
FBI - PHILADELPHIA

WESLEY COOK

On June 1, 1970, third source reported that Wesley Cook was in jail and BPP National Headquarters was taking steps to get him out.

On June 2, 1970, fifth source advised Wesley Cook was presently in Juvenile Hall as he was arrested at Tenth and Washington Streets, Oakland, California, for improper identification and crossing against a red light. Cook was selling BPP newspapers at the time of his arrest.

On June 6, 1970, a check was made of the records of the Juvenile Division, Oakland Police Department, Oakland, California. Records revealed the following:

Wesley Cook, born April 24, 1954 was arrested on May 29, 1970 for insufficient identification and walking against a red light. Cook listed his address as 1048 Peralta Street, Oakland, California (new headquarters of the BPP), telephone number 465-5047. Cook was described as 6' 1", 171 pounds, dark complexion, black hair, brown eyes.

Cook listed as relation Edith Cook, same address. Cook was released to his own custody.

On June 29, 1970, sixth source advised that Cook was again working as the Communications Secretary for the Philadelphia BPP.

On July 9, 1970, a seventh source advised Wesley Cook was still in Philadelphia working for the Philadelphia BPP.

...what now?

Claustrophobia-ABC Update

Due to a combination of factors, this issue has taken longer to finish than any of the previous issues. One large factor is that Than, a Claustrophobia collective member, has moved from DC to Baltimore, so he is no longer a part of our collective, and his energy & ideas are sorely missed. Also, the signing of Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant on June 1st set back publication time, since we have all been super-busy with the campaign to save Mumia's life. A malfunctioning

computer has also hindered the production process.

Claustrophobia-ABC has been in a sort of confusing period since the last issue appeared. With the new ABC Federation forming, we have committed ourselves to becoming more of an open group than a closed collective. We were already moving in that direction anyway, since Than had left and a number of other people have gotten involved in the past 4 months. The closing of the Beehive Infoshop has also

served to de-center ABC, as the infoshop was where we previously had our office. There are now new people involved in ABC, but our process of growth as a group has been choppy. The coming few months should be busy with Mumia support work, but can hopefully also be a time of organizational consolidation for ABC. During this time of transition we are referring to ourselves both as Claustrophobia-ABC and ABC-DC.

For the first five issues of Claustrophobia, we published regularly every two months. We have decided to not attempt to maintain that schedule anymore. It is simply a matter

prioritizing where to put our limited energy—other activities are taking up more time, such as building the DC Coalition to Free Mumia Abu Jamal, and other projects. This is more an acknowledgement of what has already happened than an announcement of something new—we just wanted to publicly state that we are no longer attempting to be bimonthly.

This issue was put together by: Angela, Bobby, Brad, David & Natalia.

Thanks to: Baltimore ABC, Bronx ABC, Geoff, Linc, Manuel, NJ ABC
We Miss You Dept: Seanna, Sherry, Than

NEW ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS FEDERATION FORMS AT MAY 6-7 MEETING IN DC

by Brad

On May 6-7, there was a conference organized by three ABC collectives—Claustrophobia ABC from DC, Nightcrawlers ABC from NY, and New Jersey ABC. The conference was hosted by Claustrophobia ABC in DC, and was also attended by members of Baltimore ABC, 4th World ABC from New Jersey, and other anarchist prison activists from Pennsylvania and New York.

The purpose of the conference was to solidify a new regional ABC federation that had informally began with our three collectives in December 1994. We left the conference with different results, well beyond what we had initially set out to achieve.

We decided against forming a regional federation, instead opening it up to any ABC groups in North America who agree with our federation's politics and criteria for membership. Instead of basing our membership on a particular region, we united on a common political activities and a structure to accomplish it. There are ABC groups in our region who will not participate in this federation because of differences of opinion about the politics and structure of such an ABC federation. So in actuality this

federation would not include all the groups from our region anyway, such as Brooklyn ABC and 4th World ABC.

A Discussion Bulletin was produced about a month prior to the conference, which included 2 proposals for how to build ABC. One proposed by Nightcrawlers was fairly general, proposing that we be thorough in outreach and follow through to people who show interest in ABC, and proposing a regional speaking tour. The other proposal, from NJ ABC and Ojore Lutalo (a New Afrikan Anarchist Prisoner of War), was a detailed structure proposal for a new federation. This is the proposal that we ended up mostly talking about, and it is what we adopted, with a few minor changes.

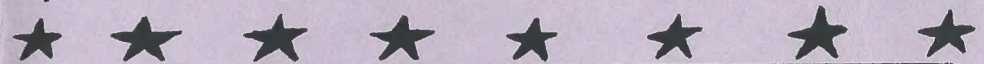
The PAC / Lutalo proposal was controversial within all the other groups before the conference. At least some members of each group had strong reservations with it. But after discussion all day Sunday around the proposal, everyone there agreed to adopt the proposal, with only a few minor changes. The proposed structure reflected a lot of thought about how to deal with many of the problems facing ABC groups, and it seemed that most

of the concerns people had with the proposal were more about how things were said or about potential dangers, not concerns about what the actual proposal said. The proposal seems clearly designed to "draw a line" of demarcation between ABC groups who are able to make a long-term commitment to revolutionary politics and action, versus groups that don't last very long or are inconsistent. It also caters to a very specific definition of what constitutes "revolutionary politics," which put off some people. The way the proposal was presented in the discussion bulletin included vague attacks on some other ABC groups, which also probably caused some of the initial scepticism toward the proposal. But once we all got to talk through it face-to-face, it became clear that we had the unity needed to start the new ABC Federation.

The new federation is organized like this: ABC groups will be organized in a two-tier system. Branch Groups will be those groups who have been together consistently for a year, who file regular reports to the ABC Bulletin, who contribute money monthly to the War Chest (a fund to

provide financial assistance for political prisoners and POWs), and who agree to function according to Lorenzo Komboa Ervin's 15-point and Lutalo's 4-point programs regarding prisoner support work. Support Groups consist of new groups or those groups who, for whatever reason, cannot meet the criteria to become a Branch Group.

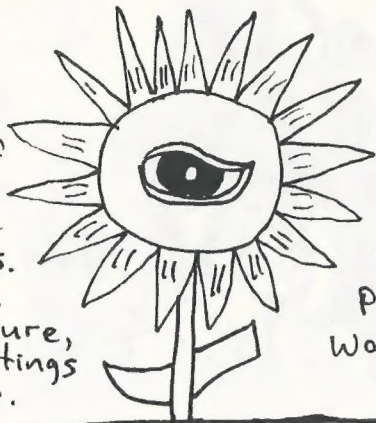
Prisoners are also structured into the new federation. A five-member Committee of Prisoners, consisting of political prisoners or POWs, will offer guidance and direction for the ABC Federation. Members of this Committee will have one-year terms, and as of the conference the membership of the Committee had not been finalized, although Ojore Lutalo and Sundiata Acoli have volunteered to be on it. Prisoners who are not POWs or political prisoners that want to be part of the ABC can form "Prisoner Solidarity Committees" which support and work with the activities of the federation, but don't necessarily have to be anarchist. We also left open the possibility that organizations or collectives of prisoners can become Branch Groups if they meet the same requirements as groups on the outside.



★ FREEING SPIRIT ★

Reading Service

We have a wide variety of political pamphlets available free to prisoners. Includes Black Panther literature, Anarchist writings & much more.



Write us for a current list of available titles
% Claustrophobia ABC
P.O. Box 77432
Washington, DC 20013

Since the conference, Baltimore ABC and Brew City Anti-Authoritarian Collective have decided to become Support Groups in the new federation. It still remains to be seen how other ABC groups will decide to relate to this new federation. Those of us who have joined the federation believe it will help to create consistency, reliability, and increased effectiveness among ABCs, qualities most ABC groups have been notoriously lacking in the past.

To get a copy of the ABC Federation's Bimonthly Discussion Bulletin, contact NJ ABC, PO Box 8532, Paterson, NJ 07508-8532. For a copy of the notes from the ABC Conference in DC, contact Baltimore ABC, PO Box 22203, Baltimore, MD 21203-4203.



Assata Shakur

Appeals for Solidarity With Mumia Abu Jamal

June 1995

The first time I heard a tape of one of Mumia's radio broadcasts was the first time I fully understood why the United States government was so intent on putting him to death—Mumia, the only African political prisoner on death row, didn't use any inflammatory rhetoric. What he said was so clear, so true, that I had to stop everything I was doing and concentrate on his message. Mumia Abu-Jamal, journalist, husband, father, grandfather, and African American is not only articulate, he is brilliant. He has the ability to say what needs to be said in the clearest, most vivid way. His language, his strength, and his intelligence remind me of one man, El Haaj Malik Shabazz, otherwise known as Malcolm X.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is a man who has truly carried on Malcolm's tradition and the tradition of so many of our freedom fighters who have risked their lives for the freedom of their people. This year as I celebrated Malcolm's birthday, I couldn't stop thinking about Mumia Abu-Jamal. I couldn't stop thinking about the man who has spent 13 years on death row, and remains strong, committed and beautiful. Mumia, political activist, revolutionary, and humanist, has followed faithfully in Malcolm's footsteps. We can feel Malcolm's energy working through Mumia. We can feel Mumia's energy carrying on Malcolm's legacy. If Malcolm X were alive today, I know he would be fighting to save Mumia's life. If Malcolm were alive today, I know he

would be fighting to free all political prisoners. In the name of Malcolm X, I make a special appeal to you, Sisters and Brothers, to fight tooth and nail to save Mumia's life and to free him from the grips of his oppressors.

As you honor our forefathers and foremothers I urge you all to honor our living heroes. When you honor the names Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman and Malcolm X, I urge you to honor the names of Geronimo Pratt, Sundiata Acoli, Mutulu Shakur, and Mumia Abu-Jamal. I urge you not to forget, and not to betray our living heroes. If we ignore their struggle, we are ignoring our own. If we betray our living history, then we are betraying ourselves. We could not save Malcolm X, but we can save Mumia. We can save him and we must save him, because we love our Brother, and we need our Brother to help us fight for our freedom.

FREE MUMIA ABU JAMAL!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
Let us carry on our tradition to freedom.

Assata Shakur
Ex-Political Prisoner
Havana, Cuba

We could not save Malcolm X, but we can save Mumia. We can save him and we must save him, because we love our Brother, and we need our Brother to help us fight for our freedom.



LIFE PREVAILS

The 10th Anniversary of the MOVE Massacre



by Bobby

The 10th anniversary commemoration of the MOVE Massacre was an extremely charged event. Commemorating the loss of Life is not an easy task. Today though, the MOVE Organization seemed focused on the future with their children, their family members returning from prison, and their campaign to free those still locked down by the American System.

Ramona: *"We will never stop grieving for [those who died]. But the point is we have not been stopped. All that grief has done is fuel us, motivated us to come at this system even harder, with more determination! Long Live John Africa!"*

People from all around the continent came together to show support. L.A., Chicago, Cleveland, New York, New Jersey, D.C., Baltimore, and Pennsylvania were all represented. Tribute was paid to all Political Prisoners and Prisoners Of War. MOVE made the call to "take charge of our lives and stop giving our power purpose, our authority over to these corrupt no good politicians."

This day gave us a chance to see MOVE under their own light instead of through the media's constant misrepresentation. Throughout the day different speakers focused mainly on the rising militancy of those in power and on the work that still lies ahead for all of us. Ramona's opening comments closed like this:

"Be committed enough to get out there and take the stand that you need to take and do the work that you need to do to make things right for you. 'Cause that's what we all have to do. This is what the MOVE organization has been doing for over 20 years now through the strategy of our loved founder and coordinator John Africa."

The speakers came from the media, the business community, the field of law, the clergy, and friends of the family. Video clips were shown from MOVE supporters around the world and there was a press conference with the young people from MOVE in response to the interviews with Birdy Africa recently printed in the newspapers. Food was available and other political organizations were represented by info tables. Mumia Abu-Jamal's recently published book was on sale and the latest issue of *FIRST DAY* (MOVE's newspaper) was out.

The media's reputation for home-baked lies got a lot of attention. Outrage was expressed concerning the media's portrayal of the bombing as something that MOVE deserved. If the media had been honest about the nature of the city's confrontations with MOVE, things may have never escalated to such an insane level.

Margot Harry, author of the book Attention MOVE This Is America! was one of the first to speak. She brought things right into focus. "I think the best thing to do is to stand up and tell the truth about what really happened on May 13th, 1985. Because there's a reckoning coming. The system that did this has yet to be dealt with."

Margot's research into the bombing was extensive and detailed. To hear her point out the contradictions in the police reports and the early press accounts was chilling. The biggest wake-up call was her recounting of a detective's log where it quotes a sergeant in the police stakeout unit as saying "he downed a member of the radical group" in the back alley. The officer fixed the time of the shooting at about the time a girl and child were coming out of the house.



MOVE protesting killing of Life Africa March 29, 1976

Later, a fireman quoted the same cop as saying "I got one back there." The targets he was talking about were the MOVE children trying to escape from the burning house. The gunfire chased them back inside. According to the authorities now, this never happened.

Barbara Grant was named by MOVE over the loud speaker the day of the bombing as a negotiator, but she was never called by the police. Today she spoke about what she experienced that day. She talked about how negotiation was not even on the police agenda.

Walt Palmer, the next speaker, had been an authorized civilian in the MOVE compound during the August 8th, 1978 confrontation. He was also an old friend of Wilson Goode. He talked about how violence is a way of life here in America, historically. What amounted to a code violation for MOVE in 1978 led to a death sentence in 1985.

"You've got to understand that when you talk about supporting MOVE, you're not talking about supporting MOVE. We don't support MOVE. We support ourselves! It's in our vital interests to support MOVE because MOVE puts itself on the front line."

"Do this for yourself" was a common theme. The fact is we're all in danger under this system. Ramona related this to what she says MOVE is about: not recruitment but standing up for what they believe in. They don't expect everybody to follow their beliefs, but they do want people to see what this system is doing to them. We have to make up our minds to move away from it.

Dhoruba Bin Wahad, former Black Panther and Prisoner of War, was next on the microphone. His message began with a warning:

"We are living in a very dangerous period of time in which the powers that be in this society are moving to consolidate their control over our thoughts, over our actions, and over our very lives. We are living in a time of a relatively new phenomenon on the face of the earth. That's the National Security State."

He pointed out that the behavior exhibited by the police in Philadelphia is reflective of U.S. policy all over the world. He talked about the information age and its potential abuses. How America

"sees all of its citizens as potential

A Fight From Another Front

by David

Thursday evening, June 1, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge rushed to his office "after hours" to sign the death warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal after learning that Mumia was filing an appeal on the upcoming Monday. This was done in spite of assertions by Ridge that his intention in signing death warrants is to make sure death row inmates carry through with all their

appeals. Here Ridge signed the death warrant to *bias the court against the appeal.*

The next morning an announcement was made concerning the scheduled executions of Mumia and four other men on death row. Mumia was in the law library when he was seized by the guards and moved into "Phase II", strip searched, given a new set of clothes and

subversives. And that as a consequence of this view it has carried out policies, and will carry out policies designed to perpetuate a system that will repress and control the every thought... As victims of disinformation, misinformation and brainwashing, we should know that information is the basis for intelligence."

All throughout the day unity was the call and Dhoruba put it this way:

"We have to understand brothers and sisters that our unity is based on principle, not convenience. Our unity has to be based on the understanding that we are not seeking uniformity, we are seeking unity. Unity means that we have a principled approach to a common problem."

"Unity between Blacks and Whites means that White people who are conscious and progressive and who may even be revolutionary understand that if the oppressed do not lead in the struggle for the freedom of oppression, then they can not lead in their stead."

"Our comrades who are European and who are White must understand that because of a system built on White Skin Privilege, they have an access to resources and material that is prohibited to people of color. And they can not parlay their access to resources and materials in a way that transforms that into leadership and hegemony over the

struggles that impact on [Black people's] lives. This is not a criticism. This is a principle."

The press conference with the MOVE young people was next. Some of them had been kidnapped by the State and put into foster homes after the 1978 confrontation and others had been taken away by their relatives. This is what one who had come back to MOVE had to say.

"All I felt from MOVE was warmth, happiness, security, love. I ain't never feel any of that hatred. When I got out into the system, that's when I started feeling all that unlove, hatred, always talking about committing suicide, dissatisfaction. But the first opportunity I got to come back to MOVE when I found out the real truth, that's the first thing I did is come back."

Ramona explained the dynamics of bringing up children with the MOVE philosophy. It's not about being permissive, but neither is it about holding the children to beliefs that the adults are not subject to. They believe in setting a righteous example for their children so they'll be accountable to them. The kids can call the adults to a meeting if they want to confront them about something that may be unfair, and the adults have to substantiate themselves. It's about respect going both ways.

Regarding the abuses that Birdy

put in a strip cell. All his possessions were seized -- all his books, legal papers, personal items. He's required to beg a guard for the temporary use of a pencil. He has been barred from the law library even though he has an appeal in court, even though he provides legal help to other prisoners facing execution. He can only receive visits from his lawyer and family. All his legal assistants have been barred, anyone with a criminal record (read MOVE) has been barred. All media are being denied interviews by the prison.

Soon after the warrant was signed

the prison gave Mumia a disciplinary write-up and put him on 30 day disciplinary custody for "conducting the business or profession" of journalism. This was in response to the publishing of Live From Death Row and the dissemination of many other articles which have consistently exposed the system for what it is. After a month Mumia was put up on another similar charge for another 30 day disciplinary custody. They intend to smother the

(continued on pg 23)

Africa, now Michael Moses Ward, reported to the press, MOVE feels he was influenced to say what he said. The position he's in now is a tough one. He witnessed the horrible murder of his Mother and all his friends. He was taken out of his life-long environment and subjected to deprogramming by the authorities. The pressure on him has been immense and Alberta Africa made it clear that MOVE does not blame him for his words. But they do want to present the MOVE side of the story. So one member of the organization, an expectant Mother, was asked:

"Do you feel like if you didn't want to raise your baby in MOVE that you have to do that?"

Her response:

"If I don't want to raise my baby in MOVE, I don't have to. I choose to stay in MOVE. I want to be in MOVE 'cause I feel really loved in MOVE. MOVE showed me a lot of love and attention, and I know MOVE people would never do anything to hurt me. Pain don't come from MOVE, it comes from the system. On a MOVE!"

Alberta Africa ran it down in a very moving speech. She talked about the motives of the police to use Birdy to make the MOVE Organization look bad. How they're using him for their purposes just like they want to use all of us for the perpetuation of this

system. They don't actually care about Birdy. They're not acting in his best interests. They're just trying to build themselves up to make people forget about the heinous crime that the government perpetuated against the MOVE Organization.

Claire Leake, the Mother of Teresa Africa who was killed on May 13th, spoke about her impression of the MOVE Organization as they lived on Osage Ave. She said the squalor so often written about in the press was a falsehood.. She admits she was concerned about her daughter joining, but today she talked about the changes she remembered in her daughter after she became part of MOVE. This is what she said:

"I noticed a change in my daughter. She had a Peace about her. She had a Truth about her. She was clean, she was healthy, she was eating good. She had a clarity of mind."

This was special day and it felt good to be there. To see a family so strong and resilient is truly inspiring.

This is MOVE today: *"We're a peaceful organization, but we ain't taking no shit!... This ain't a MOVE thing. This affects all of us and it ain't just MOVE that sees the need for Revolution. We are all in this together. The sooner we realize that and start acting like that, the sooner we'll get this beast off our backs."*

Gang Activity?

A Writing on the Control Unit at Mecklenberg Correctional Center

Richard "Panther" Ortega
#198907
MCC Box 500
Boydton, VA 23917-0500

Governor Allen seems to be planting a seed in the mind of the public when he recites his "soap opera" scripts in detailing that the law abiding citizens of Virginia cannot shop, go to ball games, and open up businesses because of crime? When he refers to crime, is he intentionally forgetting to relay the main cause? I'm talking about the political cliques, the main source! The public is so blind that they fail to realize that all the tax money they shove out every day, month and year is nothing but "laundered" money being paid to the political clique, I'm talking about the kind of clique that you and I would never be a part of...corrections dept. officials, senators, governors and presidents! These are the people who are the cause of all the crime in Amerikkka, but who takes the blame? The minority, the blacks and chicanos, in short, the ones who are broke! Now that I've given you a chicano's point of view on crime, let me tell you about a crime boss that we all know. His name is Ronald Angelone, and he is now the Director of the Department of Corrections (DOC). Since his arrival to Virginia in 1994, he has been causing nothing but chaos here at Mecklenburg Correctional Center (MCC). As you are all probably aware, MCC has become a statewide control unit. I refer to it as the "cemetery" because once entering, there's no getting out, sort of like the thing my homboyz are going through in Pelican Bay out in California. Mecklenburg used to be a full-blown population unit until recently when renovations were made and some major changes were made. MCC consists of five buildings. Building one is death-row and

lock-up with a basement underneath for isolation. Building two and three is and all lock-up unit. Buildings four and five are now for parole violators only. Since the crime boss Angelone has come into the picture, he has implemented a 1-5 year segregation status for those of us with past and previous assaults. He has taken all our correspondence, educational, jobs, and religious programs from us and now he wants to arm the "rollers" (guards) with guns?! Now if this ain't gang activity from corrections officials and racketeering, then I must be imagining all this shit!

MCC has an internal classification committee (ICC) that reviews our cases every 45 days for a possible transfer to a population, at least this is what they say it's for. It used to be the ICC would release a person from segregation, but since Angelone came on the scene, his orders to ICC are "don't send me no assault cases period!" So where does that leave us?...in the cemetery without headstones"! MCC is supposed to be under a consent decree and safeguarded from these type of actions, but corrections officials are stepping all over that agreement like the piece of shit paper it really is! The only thing we're being safeguarded from is the "sun"! Recently cages were built in the recreation yards and we're still only allowed 2-3 hours a week of Rec. Also, our canteen prices went up again. These people claim the money is used to pay for recreation equipment, education, toiletry items, etc.

Again I'm wondering...what education, what recreation, what hygiene products are these people using our money for? I was kidnapped from the west coast back in '92

and have been here at MCC for most of the time I've been in Virginia.

This madness is world wide and there's only one way we can stop it, and that's to unite, unite, unite!! They may have locked up our bodies, but they will never be able to lock up our mind and spirit! The people back home who had me kidnapped thought sending me out here would put a stop to my

life, my being, my familia (family), friends, and camaradas (homeboyz), but they were wrong because all they are going to do is make me stronger.

Peace to all thorough convicts...I'm gone!

Richard (Panther) Ortega

Since the crime boss Angelone has come into the picture ... he has taken all our correspondence, educational, jobs, and religious programs from us and now he wants to arm the "rollers" (guards) with guns?! Now if this ain't gang activity from corrections officials and racketeering, then I must be imagining all this shit!

No consent to Angelone's decrees: the Mecklenburg ad-seg control unit

by David

In its time the "phase program" of the smu at virginia's mecklenburg prison was among the most brutal control units in the country. A case brought by the ACLU National Prison Project in 1985 resulted in an out-of-court settlement that shut down the phase program and proscribed some restrictions on the methodology of oppression in the rest of the prison. While this settlement agreement exists on paper, angelone and his fiefdom go on as they please.

In the years since 1985, general population has been moved out of mecklenburg, leaving only prisoners on death row and prisoners on "administrative segregation". Ad-seg is officially a non-punitive classification,

as such prisoners are not to be denied access to educational and vocational programs available in general population. This is virginia code and it is reinforced by the 1985 "consent decree":

The DOC will develop a plan to provide the opportunity to all inmates, except those in isolation and pre-hearing detention, for programming similar to other maximum security prisons in Virginia. Among the basic programs to be considered are: work, correspondence courses, educational and vocational training programs, psychological counseling, alcohol and drug treatment, program counseling, and religious programs. [point 13]

Regardless, all of the above programs are currently being denied.

The consent decree also provides that,

All inmates, except those restricted for disciplinary confinement such as pre-hearing detention, cell restriction or isolation, and those under medical restriction, shall receive a minimum of 5 to 6 hours of outdoor recreation per week, weather permitting [point 9]

Recently prison administrators took down the basketball hoops and set-up 5' X 6' cages wherein prisoners can enjoy their few moments a day out of their cell, in another cell. Assuming that there are possibilities of exercise in a 5' x 6' cage, we can't imagine any opportunity for recreation..

With no programs and minimal access to the library, the sun and fresh air, the DOC has put a further hindrance in the way of prisoners. This is the anal cavity search, required everytime a prisoner leaves his cell, with the exception of going to shower. "Bend over and spread your cheeks" -- it is clearly yet another attempt to degrade prisoners, and a net with which to restrict those who resist such degradations. Of course, if you refuse the anal search you can only leave the cell for showers, and this is what many prisoners have chosen. The anal search, for those sticklers for the points of law, is also a violation of point 22 of the settlement agreement which only allows for strip searches "routinely after contact visitation" or "upon reasonable suspicion that contraband is being concealed."

Even though the state eliminated parole for all prisoners convicted after January 1, 1995, parole is still an issue for many of the rest. Under the new allen government that pushed through

parole termination, the paroling of eligible prisoners has been cut dramatically to 12%. At mecklenburg all the prisoners in ad-seg are being denied the opportunity to "earn good time" leading to parole. So-called "good time" can be gained through slaving in the prison industries, doing an amount of time without citation for an offense, or participating in vocational training or educational programs. That is, all the things not available in ad-seg. The activities required to get your good time are, from the "correctional" perspective "valuable lessons in respect for authority" (or some such obscenity). And while on the institutional level some of these tasks serve to reproduce imprisonment, in light of the lack of a movement inside or outside contesting prisons, it is hard for anyone to say those following such a course are wrong.

These are some of the conditions in the prisons that apparently many americans believe to be leisure camps. Even in the presence of a court decreed agreement between prisoners' advocates and the prisoners' masters, the masters carryout all kinds of violations of what we might imagine to be our "rights". On top of this, congress is likely to pass a law which bans "settlement agreements" that do not go through a full court trial and voids all such agreements after two years. Thus the

"citizens" get tough on the "criminals", and yet with a one million and growing prison population the "criminals" look more and more like the "citizens", until the only "citizens" are the prison guards and their bosses.

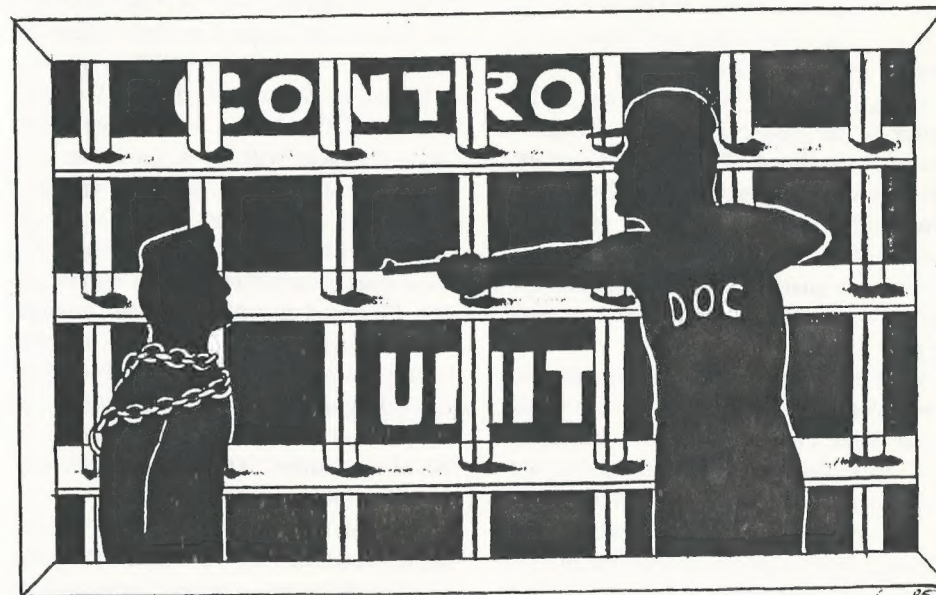
To express your feelings about conditions at Mecklenburg, write to:

J.D. Netherland
Warden
MCC, PO Box 500
Boydton, VA 23917-0500

Ronald Angelone
Director, VA DOC
PO Box 26963
Richmond, VA 23261

There will soon be hearings in the VA House of Reps about the Dept of Corrections. Don't let them ignore the reality for those inside. Write to:

House Spkr Thomas W. Moss Jr.
Suite 630, Wainwright
229 W. Bute St
Norfolk, VA 23510



Panther 95

Need for Prisoner Support, cont'd

of anarchism which has never been broken by my keepers and never will be!

It has only been in recent years when I have been acknowledged by my anarchist brothers and sisters out there. From my heart I state to you that I love you all!

I will close now with these final words. Take care of each other, keep each other safe in the eye of the storms which you face, and never forget those

in captivity because tomorrow's captive of the monsters of the earth might well be you. Our common enemies are the same from country to country with only the faces and names being different as they represent the same ideology of rape of the earth and oppression of the populous for profit as throw-away humanity.

Stay strong and know in your hearts I am with you in revolutionary spirit in

every direct action you engage in against those who oppress us! We only want the earth! They will never get us all!

18 April 1995.

Harold H. Thompson, #93992
Anarchist Prisoner
W.T.H.S.F., Unit 5-C-212
Route 2, Box 1050
Henning, TN 38041-1050
U.S.A.

SET-UP IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

Police Tactics Revealed!

by David

Welcome to D.C., home of at least one surprising statistic: six cops dead in a half year, three of them fbi. It started off in November with an armed man entering the downtown headquarters of the DC police and opening fire, killing two fbi and a DC sergeant. Then two police were wounded in January. The first cop was sitting in a Wendy's on Georgia Avenue, the second was in his cruiser in the yuppie commercial Dupont Circle neighborhood. Then not long ago outside the district in Prince Georges county, cpl John J. Novabilski was shot as he sat parked outside a liquor store where he was moonlighting as a guard. This last particular episode in citizen-police relations deserves some scrutiny

A half dozen people were on the scene and gave statements to the police. Some said the shooter wore a mask and could not be identified. However the police had another witness who they tracked down with dogs from the crime scene. Having been tracked by police dogs we can safely assume that the suspect was carrying drugs and that such a person would be facing time in prison if he didn't cooperate with the police. The police need to present and prosecute someone as the perpetrator of the killing. They must carry out the spectacle of justice, swift and sure, most especially because a police officer was the victim. So when they ask their witness who he "saw" kill cpl Novabilski, their witness gives a name. He says, Jeffrey Gilbert.

Jeffrey Gilbert was arrested by police in a friend's P.G. county apartment and beaten so severely that hemorrhaging in the brain resulted. This was in order to "teach you not to mess with police" in the words of a police. His girlfriend, as the papers report, was taken

to the police station in her underwear and t-shirt. The houses of half a dozen relatives and friends were ransacked by police looking for evidence, leaving ruins at each home. The Washington Post printed a photograph of Gilbert's father standing bewildered amidst a heap of possessions trashed by the cops.

A black man nabbed for first degree murder of a cop (the P.G. chief of police said "he's our number one suspect, we have witnesses who saw him do it"), Jeffrey Gilbert was well on his way to a lifetime in prison (MD doesn't have the death penalty), when quite miraculously fbi agent William H. Christian, Jr. is killed. Agent Christian was part of a planned ambush on a suspected cop killer, Ralph McLean. McLean succeeded in surprising his ambushers and then fled in a rain of bullets. He ended up with three bullet wounds, taking refuge in a parking garage and then killing himself. To get back to Gilbert's situation, the gun that McLean shot himself with was the service revolver of the dead cop Novabilski, stolen "at the scene of the crime." So who shot Novabilski?

Having routinely beaten their "suspect" in the murder of a brother cop, the PG police faced with the new evidence would not admit that they had the wrong person. For two days they pretended that they believed Gilbert was the killer, (just as they would have pretended for the length of his trial and sentencing and the years he languished in prison). Meanwhile Gilbert is in the hospital, his face swelled beyond recognition, the doctors discovering "traumatic subarachnoid hemorrhaging." Having been extremely unlucky, Gilbert quickly became extremely lucky. Nothing but that gun in the hands of the verified cop killer McLean would have saved him. Had the same situation occurred in pennsylvania, virginia, texas or any other state with the death penalty Gilbert would

most surely have faced execution.

And this is the bizarre thing, the cops know all along that they have a man innocent of the charges against him, yet they brutalize him and his family in every manner: they beat him nearly to death, they force his girlfriend to accompany them half naked in public, they harrass his family and ransack their houses. And they know that he didn't kill any cop. They beat him just for fun? They sexually harrass a woman just for fun? They play commando in his family's houses just for fun? Or was it all for effect? This is a brilliant opportunity to see how cops oper-

ate, if you didn't already know. A situation so transparent you begin to wonder more fruitfully about what's behind all the other more obscured situations...

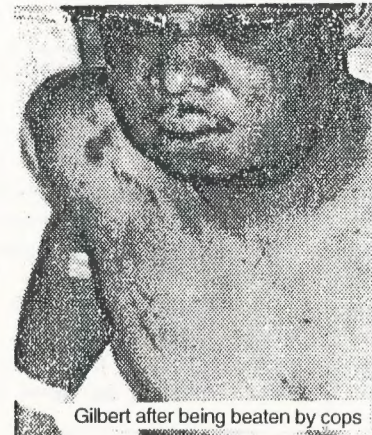
How many people have been set up like this in the usa? Mumia Abu-Jamal is one case that quickly comes to mind. Mumia was shot on the street, beaten in the hospital, and sentenced to death based on the police-orchestrated statements of witnesses who had charges pending. Mumia and so many others are now on death row or have been executed. No thanks to the criminal justice system, Jeffrey Gilbert is not among them.

THE WASHINGTON POST

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Gilbert after being beaten by cops



BY JUANA ARIAS—THE WASHINGTON POST
Plaza Mall after a suspect in two
agent before being shot to death.

shooting of D.C. Officer Vance Warren, who was attacked while he sat

Scrambling

Most prisoners are currently attempting to scramble out of harms way (some better than others depending upon their mental and material resources) as best they can given the growing repression of state prisoncrats. This scrambling increasingly manifests itself in a variety of negative ways: 1) psychologically, 2) emotionally, 3) chemically and 4) violently. All of which is derived from an even more acute sense of hopelessness now being felt by many prisoners. In addition, it is important to point out that what We as prisoners are experiencing is part of a larger dialectic of interconnected scrambling and struggle from as well as within mainstream society. That is to say, people in prison don't arrive here via the moon. We come from society where in many cases, We had families, held jobs, had friends, participated in community activities and generally experienced the same violent up's and downs of kapitalist society like everyone else. So it goes from society to prison.

Busted

People in general have a difficult task ahead of them however, this task becomes doubly difficult for people in prison. Having been born into a kapitalist "busted class", the vast majority of prisoners at some point in their lives were forced to bust windows, locked doors, and heads in a desparate bid to carve out a meager existence from a private economy. Consequently, many of Us (prisoners) were eventually busted over the heads even more while being busted for being—busted.

New Afrikan, Puerto-Rican, Mexicano, and Native Nations are represented by an ever growing number of its citizens behind "kapitalist" bars as a result of our kolonial relationship to the north amerikkkan kolonia, settler state. Moreover, the people being

kaptured from the various kolonized nations by the state often times represent the best and brightest of Our repsective youth populations. Such an element (youth) represents the sharpest point of any nations spear and is what makes Our situations all the more tragic and in the need of more effective solutions.

Tool Box

We have the tools in some cases to repair the damage done by the state to Our forces. While in other instances We may not, however, the key for us is to rally Our imprisoned comrades forward with what We have available. For example, study groups are still critical and should attempt (given the sharpening contradictions inside the oppressor nation) to include the heretofore "outlaw" north amerikkkan prisoner into the group when points of principled unity can be established. In fact, north amerikkkan prisoners should be encouraged to form their own study groups outside of the traditional "racist" groupings. So as to get a better understanding and appreciation for their own exploitation at the hands of their class enemy. In addition, We must become more united with Our respective communities by becoming more visible. As such this visibility must necessarily reflect a philosophical view which both takes into consideration the level of development of the masses (which as a rule is generally backwards). While encouraging further (critical) development as we unite in struggle against the north amerikkkan kolonial, settler state, and its various organs of repression. Finally, the most pressing concerns confronting prisoners and necessarily society should be given Our greatest focus. Such as state executions, lengthy prison sentences, brutality, control units, health care and

education, etc. All of which is the dialectic of Our human struggle, as oppressed people, from people to people who have become prisoners while scrambling in a kapitalist world.

Old Kontradictions Manifesting in New Form

Recently We have witnessed the new genocidal onslaught, the intensification and legitimization of such a onslaught spearheaded by the u.s. kongress. We have witnessed in the past several months a huge number of new repressive laws being passed in regards to prioners and so called kkkcrime. All across the kountry We are witnessing various states follow the lead of the kongress in pushing so called kkkcrime packages. These packages are demanding that prisoners now serve 85% of their time and 100% if they have a murder conviction. This allows states to qualify for matching federal funds to build more prisons. We see three strikes your out laws being implemented nationally. We see such reactionary laws and campaigns to ban weights inside the prisons, to take away all educational and voactional programs. We see and hear the reactionary and blood thirsty howling for limitation on all Death Row appeals. The genocidal penalty is not only being expanded, it will begin to be utilized more frequently. Assembly line exections will become more common and the general masses will become more desensitized to the barbarity of it. Most of these laws are aimed at poor oppressed people in general and kolonized people / oppressed nationals in particular. The so called "contract with america", is in actuality a kkkcontract on kolonized subjects confined in the imperialist u.s. borders. It is in actuality an intensification of genocide and genocidal policies against kolonized people.

The reactionary climate that is all pervasive is a clear indication of what the future hold for the general masses of

oppressed people on the outside, but prisoners as well. The question is how do We confront such a problem? How do We confront these new realities? This new offensive of the state?

Historically, the struggle on the streets has impacted directly on the prison struggle. During the 60s the civil rights movement and revolutionary politics had a direct impact on the political development of thousands of prisoners. It inspired much resistance behind the walls and heroic struggle, sacrifice and battles. The state learned from this, they learned from Attica, the Soledad Grothers, etc. Tho many of the same contradictions We see now existed then, they were not as sharp as they are today. The state forsee social upheaval, social chaos, taking place in society. This time, they have anticipated such and have developed strategies to counter what they were not to effective in countering during the 60's & 70's. One of the strategies has been to gain as tight of control of the prisons as possible. Its response has been to construct kkkontrol units, modern scientific dungeons. Prisons designed not only to isolate, but to destroy the prisoner mentally and physically. Prisons no longer designed just to warehouse, but designed specifically to destroy. Those who would ordinarily be the one's to spearhead organizing behind the walls are being weeded out and placed inside control units. While the rest of the kamps are being made so repressive that prisoners are trying to scramble out of the way of this repressive tidal wave.

At this present stage We feel in an attempt to counter this onslaught and combat the reactionary climate being created in society, We as prisoners must develop a collective voice. That We have to try to give voice to Our struggle and try to counter, expose and delegitimize the lies and propaganda of the state. We want to attempt to seize upon the time and ability We have now to move towards higher stages of organizing while We can. We want to

move away from solely theoretical development and begin to focus equally on applying Our politics to concrete conditions. More and more the possibility that many of Us may not make it out of these prions alive is becoming crystal clear. The state is sending a clear signal, especially to the youth who are flooding the penal kkkolonies, amerikkas gulag. Many will have to be freed by the revolution.

If We have any intentions on countering this wave of murderous repression We have to start attacking some of these particular contradictions. We have drafted a proposal that is presently circulating and being implemented inside Indianas prisons. This proposal was born as a direct result of the murder of Political Prisoner of War Ajamu Nassor (s/n gregory resonover), by the state on December 8, 1994. And as a result of his murder and the fall out from the retaliatory death of a neo-colonial guard five days latter.

We are forming committees that are geared towards focusing on particular areas e.g. the death penalty as a form of and tool of genocide against kolonial subjects, the construction of control units and the fact that prisoners from kolonized nations represent the majority inside them, that kkkontrol units are instruments of torture. We want to focus on the targeting of the youth for incarceration with huge sentences as another component of counterinsurgency and a part of an overall genocidal process. We want to focus on how prisoners with life sentences who have served 15, 20 years or more of their sentences, who are constantly turned down for parole due to "serious nature of the offense". In essence We plan to try and expose how this so called contract with america and all this reactionary legislation is just another form of kolonial oppression disguised as something else.

We want to organize prisoners to confront some of these realities, to do research on them and to contact outside organizations who are doing work in



George Jackson

George Jackson was a field marshal for the Black Panther Party, and the most well known and inspirational leader of the prison movement in California and around the country.

this area. We want to network with the anti-kontrol unit people. We have a committee to network with the anti-death penalty people, etc. We are not being rigid in the application of Our politics in the sense We are willing to work with some progressive mainstream organizations. Our objective is to create a stronger working relationship between the inside and outside and in the process allow Us to develop a collective voice. We want to encourage prisoners across the country to seize upon this initiative. In this way We can network these inside committees through outside facilitators and further help build a national structure inside these prisons which might allow for some collective resistance in the future. As the state begins to kill more and more of Us, begin to bury more and more of Us alive in Florence type kkkontrol units, We have to have some way of fighting back, of resistance. The kkkourts are clearly signaling that they are given the Bureau of Prisons a free reign in its terror of the hundreds of thousands of prisoners held under their control.

Prisoners have in the past been able to scramble away from confronting oppressive realities. Sometimes this scrambling has been through some kind of chemically induced form of escape,

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some cushy privileged job or collaborating with the state. However, now that the prisons have become so repressive the ability to scramble out of the way and not be directly affected by the repression has been immensely reduced. For one a vast amount of jobs for prisoners are being cut. Unemployment of prisoners in Indiana is sky high and at the Indiana State Prison it is over 60%. The ability to engage in narcotics trafficking and escape through some form of "high" is slowly being eradicated as non-contact visits become institutionalized across the board and the state begin to police their own corrupt employees a little tighter. As k-9 units begin to patrol behind the walls and demands of a urine test becomes more frequent, such practices become more detrimental. As weights, telephones, tv's and other privileges are taken, even smoking is removed, prisoners cannot escape the repression. We are forced to face the music. We are forced to either tighten Our belts i.e. scramble towards resisting, trying to gain some type of control over Our lives or We are forced

***NOTE:** Prisoners in Indiana cannot receive a copy of the proposal through the mail in light of recent events and still ongoing investigations.

to scramble towards the state, capitulate to the state. Bow down to the state. It is slowly getting to the point where We are forced to either organize and fight back or surrender and accept a very slow and tortous death.

If you are interested in seeing this proposal or trying to work towards organizing a committee(s) where you are at you can either contact the person / organization that printed this or you can contact me at: S. S. c/o FUSSPP, PO Box 565, Madison, WI 53701.

"Prisoners are people and people will always become prisoners, so long as they find themselves at the mercy of a capitalist people--Prisoner."

In the spirit of struggle and sacrifice lets scramble towards combatting genocide and kolonial violence



When the Struggle for Parole is an Act in Futility

by Edwin Cortés
P.O.W., 6/19/95

After much reflection and consultation with my family, friends and supporters, I have decided not to appear before the U.S. Parole Board, as I had planned. I originally considered appearing before the parole board, based in part on my discussions with other POWs and sectors of the independence movement who believe that parole should not be ruled-out as a form of struggle in the campaign for our freedom. My intentions were to embrace all political/legal avenues available under international and U.S. laws including Parole, Presidential Amnesty / Pardon / Commutation, the United Nations, OAS, the World Court, etc. in order to become an active political subject in the campaign to free all Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. The organizing work done around the Parole Board could also be part of a multi-prong political/legal strategy to expose the contradictory and politically biased parole process as it relates to political activists. As well as to organize, educate and mobilize our community toward the freedom of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War.

On March 9, 1995, the San Juan Star published an editorial, critical of three Puerto Rican Members of Congress, Representatives Luis Gutierrez (D-IL), Jose Serrano (D-NY), and Nydia Velasquez (D-NY) appealing to President Bill Clinton for a pardon for 15 Puerto Rican patriots incarcerated in US prisons for their activities in support of self-determination and independence of their country, Puerto Rico. The editorial endorses the position of the criminal and assassin Resident Commis-

sioner and ex-governor, Carlos Romero Barcelo. Romero states he would join the growing voices for a presidential pardon if the 15 patriots "expressed recognition that they committed a crime and sincerely repented and promised they would not commit those crimes again."

The response to the San Juan Star and Romero's hypocritical proposition did not come from President Bill Clinton, it came from the U.S. Parole Commission on March 29, 1995 when it denied Alberto Rodriguez's application for parole. Alberto was told to complete his entire sentence which ends in April of 2004. His posture before the U.S. Parole Board expressed total repentance, but was still not enough to obtain his freedom. Not a single word was heard from the San Juan Star or Romero Barcelo.

The U.S. Parole Commission as a juridical body has exposed itself as a politically biased process against Puerto Rican independentistas and carries out decisions based on U.S. political interests. This is evidenced by the denial of parole for the five companeros who have already appeared before the parole commission. Their positions cover both ends of the spectrum from expressing total repentance to reaffirmation of our right to struggle. No Puerto Rican Prisoner of War or Political Prisoners, regardless of his or her position before the Parole Board, has been given any serious consideration for release.

Clearly, the U.S. Parole Commission manipulates its own criteria to serve a political purpose which in our case is to keep us incarcerated for as long as humanly possible. This is obvious in the memoran-

dum from the Chairman of the Parole Commission, Edward F. Reilly, Jr. to Congresswoman Nydia Velasquez regarding Alberto Rodriguez:

"Although you provided the commission with substantial reason for granting parole in terms of the positive contributions a parole would likely have within the political context of the Puerto Rican Independence movement, the Commissioners who voted to deny parole decided that this favorable factor was outweighed by the need to deter all other forms of politically-motivated violence and terrorism in the United States.

In my particular case, the U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois, Deborah Devaney, sent a memorandum to the U.S. Parole Commission stating: "The government opposes parole for any of the defendants in this case. The FALN prides itself on its persistence and commitment. By his own actions and defiant words, Cortés is a dangerous philosophically committed terrorist in the truest sense of the word."

My own moral and political understanding as well as the experiences of other patriots has lead me to conclude that appearing before the US Parole Board would be an act of futility. I am truly convinced that we have exhausted the parole process as a legal/political remedy and strongly encourage all those struggling for our freedom to seek other avenues, of which a Presidential pardon is a viable option. Our efforts would be better utilized if we concentrate on working towards a strategy for the amnesty campaign. There are many diverse and divergent forces interested in the campaign for our freedom. We can become the factor that creates some "points of struggle" which would galvanize these forces to do concrete political work. A well defined strategy and work plan is the best

way to move forward.

Elected officials from Puerto Rico, the United States, and internationally have endorsed the petition for amnesty submitted to President Clinton in November 1993, including Sen. Miguel Hernandez Agosto, PPD; ex-governors Rafael Hernandez Colon and Roberto Sanchez Vilella; the three Puerto Rican Congressional Representatives cited previously; the Australian Parliament, and Australian Senators Bruce Child, Nick Sherry and John Devereux.

In Puerto Rico the Puerto Rican Manufacturers Association, the Puerto Rican Federation of Labor and its executive committee, current and past presidents of the Bar Association have also endorsed the petition, as have representatives of various religious denominations, artists, and writers. The Congreso Nacional Hostosiano adopted a theme for the amnesty campaign—Jornada de Liberacion de Lares a Ponce—seeking 100,000 signatures to send to President Clinton.

There is a need to strengthen the campaign for amnesty in the United States, as well as follow a strategy which includes the participation of all the incarcerated anti-colonial freedom fighters. Letters have to be sent to President Clinton and money needs to be raised, our people need to be educated and mobilized. Presidential amnesty for all Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners has to reach the hearts and minds of all Puerto Ricans and human rights advocates. The initiative by the three Puerto Rican Congressional Representatives requesting a meeting with President Clinton and US Attorney General Janet Reno should be supported and applauded. All the organizations and committees supporting our freedom should intensify their efforts for Presidential amnesty by building upon their own efforts in the communities where they live.

A CALL FOR AMNESTY FOR BLACK POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POW'S

by Lorenzo Komboa Ervin,
Federation of Black Community
Partisans

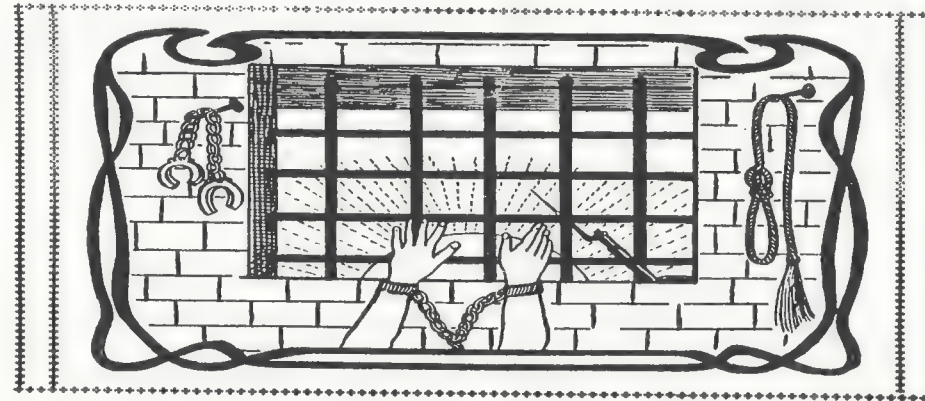
My name is Lorenzo Komboa Ervin. I live in Atlanta, Georgia. In the late 1960's, I was a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Black Panther Party. Because of my activities in the Black Liberation movement of the 1960's, I was railroaded by the United States government to a "life" sentence, where I served almost 15 years. I was just one of a number of persons who went to prison from the Black revolutionary movement. There is nothing heroic or exceptional about my individual case. Many of those whom I was in prison with are still there, such as Herman Bell, Sundiata Acoli and many others who have gone there since my release. It is for them I make this proposal, not for myself.

The idea of a general amnesty for Black political prisoners/prisoners-of-war is based on two primary reasons, well recognized in international law: (1) humanitarian, and (2) political, although not necessarily in that order. This proposal is the bare outlines for an amnesty campaign, there is no "textbook".

Just so everyone will understand what I am not talking about, let me say this first: I am not talking about Amnesty International, the liberal reform organization, who has a policy against supporting anyone who has engaged in or advocated violence; I am also not talking about having political prisoners filing for a presidential pardon and begging for "forgiveness" for their revolutionary acts. We do not know what formula the state will use to grant amnesty (pardon, executive clemency,

declaration of amnesty, habeas corpus, etc.), nor should we care as long as the State does not have the prisoners or the movement make any political compromises, and as long as they deliver the pp's/pow's from prisons alive. I want to make sure that everyone understands fully what I am talking about.

First, what is amnesty? It is a political demand on an authority, usually a government, to drop all Criminal or disciplinary charges before



НО ВСЕМЪ ДРУЗЬЯМЪ И ТОВАРИЩАМЪ!

or after an insurrection or other act of resistance; or a demand upon the state to release all political prisoners, no matter what their offense. This latter demand is called general amnesty, but it requires serious organizing of a movement capable of challenging the state for power and uniting all insurgent movements in the American empire. In fact, we have not seen a movement like this since the Black Liberation movement of the 1960's, some 30 years ago. The fact is that we have not now reached this stage, but that we cannot wait around for that day to arrive. We must organize a movement which can free pp's/pow's now.

I am talking about a specific class of long-term political prisoners whom an amnesty campaign can be built around first: imprisoned members of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army wing of the BPP, many of whom have been imprisoned for over 20 years. This BPP/BLA campaign, however, will just be the first campaign of many to release all political prisoners/pow's; the truth is that we must build this movement in stages, long term BPP/BLA prisoners first, then other

prisoners while we fight to dismantle the prison system itself (and the state which uses it as its major weapon).

THE STATE DISPOSES, WHILE THE MOVEMENT REPOSES

There is one extremely important lesson in all of this: the state does not set the timetable for how long political prisoners stay in prison; this is entirely up to us in the support movement outside. If WE CAN BUILD A MOVEMENT POWERFUL ENOUGH, with a mass base that will engage in

direct action to demand the freedom of pp's/pow's, then we can free practically any prisoner in custody.

The second lesson is that we cannot win a piecemeal or sectarian political prisoner defense campaign. We must build universal support for political prisoners, not just our individual political formations opportunistically using their cases. A joint amnesty campaign requires that all individual defense campaigns unite both in action and organizationally. This also means that we drop the infamous practice of "selective support" (and non-support) of certain political prisoners on sectarian grounds, and support all left-wing political prisoners without distinction. It means as well that we drop all pretense that a sectarian group, no matter how energetic their campaign may be, can by itself free a political prisoner. Rarely is this so; we must build the united front for political prisoner defense THAT comrade George Jackson spoke of in "Blood in My Eye". Twenty weak "defense committees" simply don't do anybody any good. No rhetoric, JUST real live facts.

A BARE BONES AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

It is important first to understand that we are talking about conducting a political campaign and building a mass movement around the issue of political prisoners/pow's, and that we are not just making another paper appeal to the "conscience of the American police state, (which doesn't have a conscience anyway). This campaign would mobilize our forces into a joint amnesty group, in order to maximize our resources and our human capital. It would also expose the crimes of the

(continued in box on next page)

Stop the Maryland Department of Corrections!

A communique for an inmate who has been confined in Maryland's Supermaximum facility (Maryland Corrections Adjustment Center) for over 2 years—

"Conditions here at the State of Maryland's Supermaximum facility are completely shocking. The warden continues to institute methods of punishment through physical and mental torture, some of which even the notorious Marion Federal Prison hasn't seen.

Prisoners have resorted to very sick and disturbing practices as a result of Warden Sweall Smith's 'make it as he goes' policy. Prisoners use human waste (feces) as weapons. The method of throwing it or spraying it on other prisoners and guards is referred to as 'chemical warfare'.

All the frustration and conflict are a result of being locked in 99% of the time as no one is guaranteed walks or showers. Physical and psychological abuse is a daily part of this sick program. For example, one method of controlling out-of-line prisoners is to spray them down the chemical mace after which guards then beat them with sticks. Then, perhaps, you may end up in the hole where you are stripped naked and chained in what is called a 'three piece'. A three piece means you are chained at your hands, waist and ankles. No sooner than you hit the hole, an order is issued for the blowers to be turned on. The blowers are extremely powerful. For instance, if the temperature is 40 degrees in the room, the blowers will make it feel as if it is 0 degrees. In the hole areas there are no mattresses, no blankets and no sheets. You are left chained like a wild animal for 1 to 7 days."

The Maryland Penal System headed by Secretary Bishop Robinson, Commission Richard Lanhan, and Parole Commissioner Paul Davis has earned a reputation as one of America's cruelest and racist as attributed to the following:

- Over-crowded conditions due to Maryland's 20,000 prison population—currently 60% over-capacity and increasing an average of 100 per month—resulting in health hazards such as record high outbreaks of tuberculosis, in particular, at a Hagerstown facility where 400 of 1,900 inmates tested positive.

- Upscale inmate control mechanisms such as the modeling of a supermaximum

(‘Amnesty Campaign’ from previous page) state on a broad scale, for instance COINTELPRO and how it was used to smash the BPP. So here are a few things I propose:

1. A mass meeting to be held sometime within the next few months, (I am intentionally not being specific as to the date), to build a mass amnesty campaign for BPP/BLA long term prisoners. This meeting would also be a mass educational event to explain COINTELPRO to a whole new generation of activists and the people at large.

2. Begin an immediate campaign to file an International Writ of Habeas Corpus to the United Nations International Court of Justice, UN Human Rights Commission and other international bodies, to demand the release of the BPP/BLA prisoners/POW's.

3. Conduct an international information campaign to expose the U.S. government's COINTELPRO, OPERATION CHAOS, and other such political repression of the BPP/BLA. But this information campaign should especially demand the release of all BPP/BLA prisoners now that the history of the BPP is being revisited by playwrights, authors, film makers and scholars, presaging intense public interest and a new reawakening of BPP politics by youth groups.

4. Building a (political) Prisoners Defense Fund to raise money for legal

facility, Maryland Corrections Adjustment Center (MCAC), after Illinois' infamous Marion Prison, where inmates are subjected to inhumane punishment such as 23 1/2 hour-a-day solitary confinement.

- Escalated repression as demonstrated by removal of 134 inmates serving life sentences from the work release program because of the actions of one individual involved in a murder-suicide. Please note that many of these individuals on work release had been at that status for years with no violations.

defense, to support prisoners' families, and to send small amounts for prisoners "creature comforts" while they are in prison.

5. Conduct an emergency amnesty campaign for Mumia Abu-Jamal, while he is still alive on Pennsylvania death row. This case is a perfect example of how our organizational weakness might deprive this brother of his life. We must come together around this common agenda of saving him from state murder, or bear the badge of shame at our indecision and inaction.

CONCLUSION

Rather than engaging in rhetoric to criticize this document or dismiss it out of hand, it is hoped that activists can constructively discuss it, and more importantly act on its prescriptions. I could not possibly, and have not sought to cover everything in this proposal. I encourage others to take this proposal, add their ideas and make it better. It won't hurt my feelings, and it is not engraved in stone. I and the Black Partisan @ Federation, a new political formation, cannot on our own make this project a reality; it requires that the majority of groups organized around the cases of political prisoners/pow's put aside egotism, opportunism, and sectarianism, and work toward the goal of freeing our political prisoners. That is all I have to say at this time.

Lorenzo Kombo Ervin
145 Park Drive Decatur, GA 30030

- Decreased focus on education, drug treatment, vocational training and rehabilitation due to the 'law and order' punishment mentality of prison administrators.

- Untrained and under-educated prison employees lack basic knowledge of Department of Corrections (DOC) regulations.

- Biased grievance process due to an incompetent administrative board comprised of DOC staff members who oftentimes express prejudicial notions about the aggrieved, demonstrated by failure to acknowledge violation(s).

- Sexist dress codes formulated by wardens at each institution (no state-established visiting room dress code is established) implemented by guards at random. For example, Jessup Pre-Release Unit allows for no spandex pants which has been expanded to include NO cotton straight leg pants considered to be revealing or provocative as defined by guards. This results in denial of visiting privileges for family and friends who oftentimes must travel long-distances.

Please write Maryland Governor Parris Glendening to encourage him to make new appointments for both the Department of Public Safety and Department of Corrections.

TO NOT FOCUS ON REHABILITATION AND/OR ALTERNATIVES TO INCARCERATION IS GENOCIDE FOR BLACKS IN THE U.S.!

Write to:
Governor Parris Glendening
State House
100 State Circle
Annapolis, Maryland 21401

For more information:
BlackWatch Grassroots Network
c/o Jennifer Smith
3802 14th St. N.W., #511
Washington, D.C. 20011
(202) 291-0875

2Pac Shakur's Shooting: A Police/FBI Setup?

by John

Early this year Tupac Shakur, a popular rapper and son of former NYC Black Panther Afeni Shakur, fought off would-be robbers but got hit by five bullets in an incident that had him hiding in fear of murder by NYC police. His lawyer, a Black activist formerly with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), would not even disclose where Shakur was recuperating. Despite being described by Bellevue Hospital as in serious but stable condition, Shakur dragged himself out of that facility hours after his surgery, against doctors' orders, reportedly out of fear of police persecution. An analysis of this event may shed light on continued FBI/police Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) actions and their connections to corporate media.

Former incidents, the most recent in particular, show the more criminal aspect of Shakur's life he may be trying to leave behind, as well as what led him to his current state of 'paranoia'. After beginning to rise in the movie world, starring in his third movie, *Above the Rim*, Shakur was charged with sodomizing and sexually assaulting a 20 year old woman in his hotel room. The day after Shakur was shot five times, the jury gave a mixed verdict in that November '94 case. They found Shakur not guilty of forcing the woman to have oral sex with him, possibly due to her admitted and witnessed consensual fellatio with him on a disco dance floor four days before. She reportedly called his hotel room the few days following the disco sex incident, came up to his room the day the

sexual assault charges were made, and then contended that Shakur forced her to have oral sex with him and two of his friends. The jury of nine women and three men did find Shakur guilty of a felony sexual abuse charge for "grasping the woman's buttocks (N.Y. Times)." A judge gave Shakur a 1 1/2 to 4 1/2 year sentence in Rikers Penitentiary.

One aspect of the shooting that led Afeni Shakur to help her son check out of Bellevue hospital in fear, and surround Shakur with Nation of Islam guards, is that the same policeman who showed up immediately on the scene of the sexual assault incident, also showed up immediately following the shooting incident. As the Washington Post reported, Shakur stated saying, "Hi, Officer McKernan," when the policeman arrived on the scene. Furthermore, in contrast to most press accounts, Shakur's lawyer, Michael Warren, told this writer that the shooting took place in the recording studio's lobby, as opposed to outside the building. Warren further stated that a police car was sitting in front of the lobby entrance and failed to apprehend the gun-wielding men running out the lobby doors. Convinced that the police had set the shooting up, Shakur wore a bullet proof vest to his sexual assault trial the next day, had seven Nation of Islam bodyguards by his wheelchair in the courtroom, and checked into a third hospital under an alias.

Is this behavior mere paranoia, a diversion from the pattern of criminal charges against Shakur, or some twisted form of self-promotion, as other writers have suggested? Getting hit by five bullets seem to

make these latter two suggestions so absurd that they may only add to the fear of cover-up possibilities. As expected, the mainstream media reported few or none of Shakur and his lawyer Warren's concerns about being targeted by the police. Neither the Post, the New York Times, nor Time Magazine mention that Shakur's parents were Black Panther leaders. The supposedly leftists Village Voice picked an MTV News reporter to write an article that goes into the Panther history with a very sceptical eye, which could pass for more complex analysis if the writer didn't show an incredible capacity for bias by stating, "It makes as much, and as little, sense to argue that Tupac himself orchestrated the incident." Could this writer, who call himself Tourre, actually believe Tupac Shakur may have "orchestrated" getting shot in the head and the scrotum? This writer talked to Tourre by phone and heard him say that he knew very little about the shooting in the beginning of the conversation, and then try to dispute the possibility of a police murder set-up by quoting the caliber of bullets used by the gunmen. Warren expressed the belief that Tourre is a government agent. He also stated that Vibe Magazine writer Kevin Powell screamed at Tourre in the courthouse elevator for writing such a ridiculous article, after what they both witnessed at Shakur's trial. Anyone sceptical of government agent connections to the media could find a history of this well documented by such books as *Silent Coup*.

Only a local newspaper with "the New

Black view," the New York Amsterdam News, offered salient details with a sceptical eye that does seem to pass for more complex analysis. After discussing Shakur's own self-promotion as a thug with a history of criminal charges, which other journals choose to focus on exclusively, the Amsterdam News reviewed the suspicious details of the case and Shakur's revolutionary family connections. Kevin Powell got an interview with Shakur in Riker's, after the conviction. In the beginning of that interview, Shakur expressed the belief that he would be killed in prison, yet the reason he might have given as to why seemed to have been edited out of the article.

Two major past criminal charges against Shakur seem to bolster the police-targeting

perspective over the view of a criminal having it all come back on him. First, there was an attempted murder charge for shooting two off-duty policemen in Atlanta. The police claimed Shakur's car almost hit them before he started shooting. But Shakur was acquitted in court when witnesses testified that the out-of-uniform police shot at Shakur first. Furthermore, as exclusively noted by the Amsterdam News, Shakur's friends taped the female ac-

cuser's comments off Shakur's hotel room phone, where she stated the 'repeat performance' she wanted with him. Yet this tape was "accidentally" erased by the police. Backing attorney Warren's depiction of the event, the Amsterdam News also noted that Shakur was shot five times while



he was supposed to have been under police surveillance at that time. And in the "random" robbery the gunmen took over \$30,000 in jewelry and other valuables from the three men, but acted as if they didn't know Shakur's distinctive face, seen in three major movies and on two popular recordings.

To take a step back, Shakur's life development may give a fuller picture of how he landed in this current predicament. He grew up in the poverty-stricken neighborhoods of New York City where he's stated that he first started getting in trouble with the law. He then moved to Baltimore in his mid-teens where he was given a bigger chance to do more than hustle on the streets. With a little acting experience in New York, he was accepted to the High School for the Performing Arts, which seemed to give him his start with movies and music. His family later moved to San Francisco where he became known for writing socially conscious lyrics with the band Digital Underground, before releasing the solo record, 2PACALYPSE NOW, which was singled out by none other than Dan Quayle for its violent lyrics. Quayle used a few oblique lines such as, "the police against us" to blame Shakur's recording for causing the fatal shooting of a Texas state trooper. Though, Shakur did make himself an easy target with his admitted gun-toting and accused beatings of guys who posed a potential threat to him. And Newsweek magazine reported that he was selling drugs in Oakland, which may be true though they don't back this fact up with any charges brought against him.

Some of Shakur's street toughness seemed to help him land the "gangsta" role in the movie Juice, before starring in Poetic Justice and Above the Rim. But what gave him the extra respect all his life in the Black community, and probably the police scru-

tiny, was his Black Panther family. His mother, Afeni Shakur, was one of the NYC Panther 21—a group of 21 New York BPP members who were accused of planning a series of bombings. The Panther 21 were acquitted in '71 of the bombing charges. His natural father headed the New Jersey Black Panther Party. His godfather is incarcerated LA Panther leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, and his stepfather, Dr. Mutulu Shakur, is now serving time for a series of armed actions with the Black Liberation Army, including allegedly engineering the prison escape of Black Panther Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) in 1979. Assata Shakur, after being liberated in 1979, resides in exile in Cuba.

What links Tupac Shakur's history and current events has less to do with Shakur's debatedly erratic radical lyrics and occasional social activism than it does with covert police counterintelligence programs. While 1960s radicals knew that the government was spying on them, they mostly underestimated the scope of the FBI's activities. Until some documents were stolen from an FBI office in the early 70s and made available to the public, nobody knew the extent of the government program called "COINTELPRO." "COINTELPRO" first came under the congressional spotlight in 1975 in the Church Committee Hearings. The FBI claimed to have terminated COINTELPRO in 1971.

Many articles and books have documented COINTELPRO's connection to local police plans for what FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover noted was to, "expose, disrupt, misdirect, or otherwise neutralize," Black revolutionaries in particular and U.S. political dissidents in general. The above quote is from an FBI COINTELPRO directive. Although the FBI claims that COINTELPRO was ended in 1971, there is much evidence that while they claimed they were

"officially terminating" COINTELPRO, the FBI just kept on using the same illegal techniques against political dissenters, but framing the techniques, "in terms of 'combatting terrorism' rather than neutralizing political extremists." These abuses are more thoroughly documented in books such as Agents of Repression, Break-Ins, Death Threats & the FBI, and War at Home (all on South End Press).

One may question whether Tupac Shakur falls under the heading of "political extremist." But with his massive popularity among Black youth, arguably greater than any Black Panther during their time, along with his saturation in a revolutionary Black Nationalist perspective, having grown up among Panther leaders, few would question the potential threat he poses. At the age of 23, he also has incredible potential for broad appeal, having landed a socially conscious single, "Keep Your Head Up" at number one on the R&B charts. His most recent record, Me Against the World, made after the trial, was number one on the Billboard Magazine charts for its first several weeks out.

Furthermore, recent events buried by the mainstream press may pose a major threat to the intelligence community. After the Rodney King incident the most famous gangs in the country, LA's Bloods and Crips, called a truce, and spawned gang peace summits that have spread all over the West and into the Midwest. They've also let political leaders such as Jesse Jackson,

Ben Chavis and Louis Farrakhan, attend these summits. Programs have already started connecting radical activism and music recording. Of course, bands such as Public Enemy and Boogie Down Productions have been singing radical political lyrics for years, and the two lead singers for Public Enemy actually attended a Black Panther camp as kids. But while Public

Enemy's popularity has faded since the early 1990s, Tupac Shakur's popularity is still growing, with his increasingly successful albums and budding movie stardom.

After dabbling in social activism recently, participating in a Stop the Violence program in New York, and starting a program in Oakland called the Underground Railroad to bring Black teenagers together for discussing their aspirations, it will be interesting to watch where Shakur will go now with any radical activism. One could bet this will be the start of a radical political "culture war" between Shakur expressing a more radical perspective, and the mainstream entertainment industry questioning whether they should continue to provide him the vehicle for this new possible perspective. Judging from the lack of press on the most recent incident, for Tupac Shakur the road many only get rougher. Radical researchers and artists with a message should also take note on the extremes that intelligence programs may go to in the cultural political arena.

What links Tupac Shakur's history and current events has less to do with Shakur's debatedly erratic radical lyrics and occasional social activism than it does with covert police counter-intelligence programs.

Capitalism's Ethics of Control

by Kevin Glover

The maintenance of capitalism requires an immense amount of control to be implemented in new and everchanging ways. Control starts at an early age for people with control messages being imparted and ingrained (by the already controlled) into the unformed minds of the young. As people grow in the capitalist context, the indoctrination continues with other forms of control information designed to form mental dispositions conducive to capitalism.

People may incorporate these control ideologies or thought patterns into their personalities without much examination since from an early age they are (we are) bombarded and overwhelmed with such info. Many of these forms of informational social control are very subtle and difficult to detect.

Some examples are:

1) Indoctrination of Nationalism and Patriotism

This starts at an early age from many angles (T.V. propaganda, etc) and instills a divisive "us or them" mentality, implicit prejudice, and is also conducive to the mentality required for other capitalist cut-throat endeavors later in life—like war.

2) Religious Indoctrination (Direct experiences of cosmic unity not included)

Instills early on deference to authority, concepts of hierarchy, and a Big Brother early sense of paranoia, among other repressive things, like the "Protestant Work Ethic!"

3) Unquestioning Faith in Authority Figures

"They must be right," "They must be good—they're in office!" "The policeman is your friend!" This sort of inculcation is

conducive to apathy and obsequious servility, not to mention furthering the exploitation of everybody in general.

4) Corporate Media Disinformation and Reality Construction

A massive coercive brainwashing campaign designed to get your money and tell you what reality is—as if they know.

5) Capitalist-bent Education System

Imputes capitalist values, respect for hierarchies, authoritarian government, promotes the ethics and practice of capital acquisition and legitimizes wage slavery.

6) Constant Influence of Government, Industry, and Media to legitimize the status quo as normal and give people unconscious reality concepts (i.e. capitalism is the only possible way things can be).

These forms of thought control from different avenues amount to the instillation of cops in our heads. As long as people retain these thought patterns spoonfed from the ruling class, capital and their political lackies will continue to rip us off for our lives. As long as people are self-policed by the chains of their indoctrination they will constitute a wealth of reasonable, maleable, and easily exploited people.

These ideological forms of social control are reinforced by fear of authoritarian government sanctions. Various governmental institutions maintain control through overt violence or tacit threats of severity adding a compulsory aspect of "fear" to the list of headfixing. "Control through paranoia!"

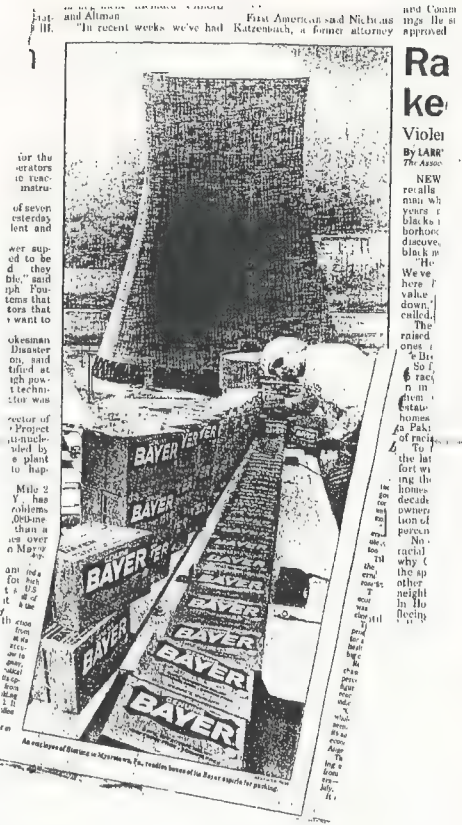
Besides outright force and capitalist social learning, another form of control (made possible by force and social learning) is the ruling classes ability to take already accumulated labor (labor performed

in the past, embodied in technology, science, etc) and use it against present labor in order to further control it.

This utilization of past performed labor in the form of technology is continually used by the ruling class in order to regulate, police and control people. It is used as well to put workers on the defensive in fear that they may be displaced from their jobs by the new technology. This situation can be used as a form of control in order to extract, or extort human labor more cheaply, only to be used against itself at a later date. Needless to say, for folks who fall by the wayside in such a system, an additional form of control is used. Prisons! Which incorporate much of technological progress's fruits into their repressive systems. A prison-type society is most likely, on a global scale, what the cumulation of capitalism will be. The control ethics of capitalism are simply to extract wealth and sustain privilege for the few at the expense of the many and nearly any prison will serve as a microcosmic paradigm of this situation.

The ruling class seeks total control and as I said earlier, with the advent of newer and more effective technology making human labor more obsolete, we could become extraneous and expendable to the picture altogether.

At the moment, we are experiencing political severities at the hands of the capitalist state politicians in the form of economic austerities and stepped up law



en"forcement!" These austerities are the removal of reforms which the capitalist political state has granted in the past. Food-stamps, welfare, unemployment benefits, to name just a few are all safety net measures, or alternatives that the ruling class wish to eliminate, thus ensuring a vast wealth of exploitable labor. Of course, more crime bills, stiffer laws, and longer prison sentences all show the control factor intended and the callous authoritarian agenda of capitalism.

The only remedy I see for all this (our hope for salvation) is to unite in Mutual Aid and militant intransigent resistance to economic and governmental repression "dynamically" on all fronts! We have to

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A Revolutionary Anarchist Response to a Maoist Criticism

As an anarchist publication, we think it's important to introduce people to some of the theories behind the work that we do. Theories and ideas often develop and grow through dialogue and in interaction with other ideas. The following is a response to an "open letter to better anarchists" written by the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM), a group that upholds Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and also does a lot of work with prisoners. We're printing this because we want to present and develop our ideas, and show how they differ from the ideas of other revolutionaries. As prison activists especially, we work with many Marxist groups, and many prisoners we support come from the Marxist (and Maoist) tradition.

We do not base our support for prisoners on whether they agree with our particular political perspective, and we certainly don't withhold support for disagreement. We seek to build a revolutionary pluralist movement—one that brings many political forces and sectors into motion together to fight the beast. But coalition-building can't be an excuse to not develop our own

political perspective. In fact, we see ongoing political dialogue as one of the best ways to support prisoners, as we work to clarify our political vision and ideas as a movement, and develop strategies and tactics for revolution which are grounded in an overall vision for a new society. We encourage readers to start and contribute to ongoing theoretical discussions, as we hope to continue developing and printing revolutionary theory. This "open letter" was sent to the Maoists in June.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MAOISTS (AND POTENTIAL MAOISTS) WHO TRULY WANT TO END OPPRESSION

by Brad Sigal, a member of the Love & Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (representing my views, not the federation as a whole) June 1995)

I am writing this in response to the Maoist Internationalist Movement's sprinting of "an open letter to the better anarchists" in the December 1994 issue of their newspaper, MIM Notes. I have taken their bait and responded partly because I am interested in the political debate, and partly because I think there a lot of anarchist-leaning revolutionaries who end up getting into Leninism for lack of seeing a coherent anti-authoritarian alternative. While I think MIM's "open letter" had some condescending parts to it and probably won't be taken seriously by

many anarchists, it does bring up some issues I find important, and there might be some people who are trying to figure out where they stand between anarchism and Marxism who are interested in the discussion.

I define my political perspective as 'revolutionary anti-authoritarian' or 'anarchist communist', to differentiate from revolutionaries who are attempting to put themselves in positions of power—either

painfully obvious to anyone who wants to see, that despite the successes of Leninist & Maoist revolutions and ideologies in actually overthrowing governments, the Leninist model has only led to disaster, defeat and continued capitalist & patriarchal oppression. None of the Leninist or Maoist "explanations" of the defeats of the revolutions in China, Russia, Eastern Europe, etc, are convincing to me. They make certain good points about things like pro-



by getting elected to bourgeois governments, or by militarily seizing state power and creating a "dictatorship of the proletariat" with themselves as the new ruling class.

Take Marxists Seriously (But Critically)

But even from an anti-authoritarian perspective, I still study and learn much from Leninist and Maoist theory and practice. Marx, Lenin and Mao should be studied by any serious revolutionaries, simply for the fact that they are revolutionary leaders whose ideas & actions have inspired millions of people to fight for their liberation. That said, I think that it is

duction relations, external imperialist interference, and the like but I think they miss the heart of the matter. They never critique the internal factors which, when combined, I think lead directly to the authoritarianism and state capitalism that has emerged in every single state socialist country. These factors are: a centralized "vanguard" party who believes they have a lock on 'truth' or 'science' seize state power and attempt to run the state machinery by themselves "in the interest of" the masses rather than helping to create instruments of direct popular rule. The "withering away of the state" that Marxists promise hasn't happened and won't happen—there's no material basis for a new ruling

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try to spread social consciousness raising in order not only to overthrow the pigs on the street but the ones in our heads as well. This way, we can abolish authoritarian control realities, and implement realities of liberty, beauty, cooperation, and break the chains of tyranny for good.

Kevin Glover #526379
Huntsville Unit PO Box 32
Huntsville, TX 77342-0099

class to give up its power. I believe it's incredibly simple: authoritarian structures will not, produce egalitarian or free societies.

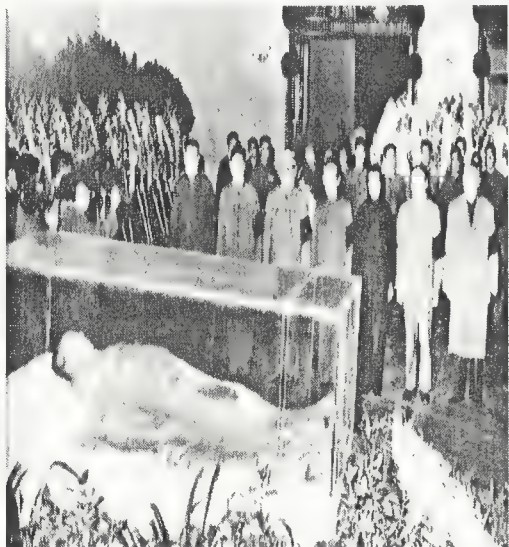
Mao, the Cultural Revolution and 'Power to the People'

To Mao's credit, he acknowledged that a new bourgeoisie emerges within ruling Communist Parties, and tried to come up with a solution to that problem. His solution was the "Cultural Revolution"—a revolution that happens after the Communists have state power, which mobilizes the masses to attack the remnants of bourgeois ideology in the realm of culture, and also attack the privileged elite which has gained power inside the Communist Party and is trying to preserve that power rather than advance revolution.

I think that during the early years, the Cultural Revolution was an exciting and real mass revolutionary movement which was attacking exactly the problems mentioned above. From early on though, the various factions within the Communist Party (including Mao) tried to "steer" that mass movement away from 'going to far' with setting up direct popular rule, such as with the aborted Shanghai Commune. Instead they encouraged the masses to attack their political opponents within the party and simply replace them with new leaders. I think the masses were

ready to go further, at least in places like Shanghai. But this would have threatened the power & control of all the ruling factions, so it was opposed.

While the different factions had different political visions, I don't think the "revolutionaries" and "capitalist roaders" are always clearly distinct and I don't think it can be reduced down to just an ideological struggle. There is a human level to the struggle, and there was a lot of personal power and prestige at stake. I think that on some level it did come down to personal power struggles within the party, and the different factions saw the mass movement as something to harness to destroy their rivals. Even Maoists acknowledge that different factions in the party organized Red Guards to attack their political opponents and that these attacks weren't always principled. And whether Maoists admit it or not, the Gang of Four (Maoist leaders in the Cultural Revolution) made serious



errors by trying to control the mass movement to attack their enemies, and this made them increasingly unpopular among the masses as time went on.

I feel like I'm getting deep into the politics of the Cultural Revolution, which is a topic much bigger than this letter. So let's take

a step back for a moment and look at Mao's answer to the problems encountered in trying to get to "communism" through creating a huge, centralized state con-

trolled by one party which believes itself the holder of scientific truth (Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung-Thought, it was called at the time) and which owns all the means of production.

Doesn't creating a huge, centralized, ideologically monolithic, bureaucratic state apparatus seem like a strange way to get to its opposite—a world where people have control over their daily lives—a world without capitalism, patriarchy, and national boundaries? Marxists explain this contradiction by calling it "dialectical." But after 100 years, it seems that this particular dialectic keeps veering off trajectory. I think this is a dishonest (or naive) use of dialectic logic to justify an authoritarian strategy.

I think the combination of factors that make Maoism (and all other Leninist trends) inherently flawed are—believing that there is an 'absolute truth'; believing that Marxism embodies that truth; believing that one's particular party is the only one with the correct interpretation of that truth; and then attempting to seize state power to make your "line" the law over the masses. These factors combine to basically ensure that—despite the best intentions of many individual members of Leninist groups—any "successes" they achieve will head an authoritarian and state capitalist trajectory.

Bashing the Anarchist Movement vs. Bashing Anarchism

It's certainly easy to take cracks at the "anarchist movement" in North America. I'm sure that I share many if not most of the criticisms that Maoists would make of the North American anarchist movement. But so what? Just because you have criticisms of the anarchist movement, it does not follow that therefore you should support authoritarian alternatives. Yes,

the anarchist movement is largely white (although some of the best new ideas in anti-racist theory have come from anarchists, and the Black anarchist trend is growing), it's mostly stuck in one counter-cultural milieu (punk rock), and is excessively academic (non-activist), individualist, and often shallow theoretically. But to abandon anti-authoritarianism as a basic principle, just because I have disagreements with many people who call themselves anarchists would be to abandon the basic principles underlying everything I am fighting for. To abandon the critique of and struggle against all authority relations and hierarchy is to abandon any chance of real liberation.

I agree with Maoists that the anarchist movement in the U.S. would do well to do more study of historical revolutions, and to pay more attention to theory and ideology in deciding strategy for what to do now. But it is absurd to say that Maoism is "Universally Applicable Revolutionary Science" and anarchism is "incorrect" just because the anarchist movement failed in China while the Maoists succeeded.

The "Failure" of Anarchism & "Success" of Maoism in China

Clearly the anarchists in China did not have the best strategy to overthrow feudalism & capitalism, and to then build toward the liberated society they desired. The Chinese Communist Party was better prepared to lead mass movements, and to organize the peasants to overthrow the old order. But again I ask, so what? The Chinese communists were utter failures for decades, too, while anarchism was the leading revolutionary trend in China from 1905 to 1930. All the 'major players' in the Chinese Communist Party were anarchists before taking up Marxism, including

Chairman Mao himself. And I think elements of anarchism remained influential in the Chinese Communist Party, which allowed them to break with enough Marxist dogma to try more creative approaches than Communist Parties in other countries.

The Chinese communists themselves were only 'successful' after nearly being wiped out — a situation they found themselves in from following Marxist-Leninist ideology too dogmatically. The only reason the Chinese communists survived and were successful was that they finally bucked Leninist & Stalinist orthodoxy on the primary role of the industrial proletariat, as well as on many strategic questions. This ought to tell you something. Yes, learn about and learn from Marx, Lenin, Mao, and even Stalin. But certainly don't treat their experiences, ideas and formulations as orthodoxy, or even as your "guide to action." Don't you see where your guide to action is guiding you? Even if the Chinese revolution was "successful" in 1949, was it "successful" in the Great Leap Forward? Was it "successful" in eliminating the basis for a new (capitalist) ruling class during the Cultural Revolution?

Yes, Mao remains popular among the Chinese people today. Again I ask, so what? George Washington, the founder of the "u.s. nation" is popular among the north american people, but that doesn't mean that north amerikans understand anything about Washington's ideology. And similarly Mao remains popular among Chinese people as "the founder of the Republic", but my sense is that that popularity is not due to Maoist ideology, but because he is the forefather of modern China, in the same way that Washington is seen as the forefather of the U.S.A.

In fact, while Mao believed the Cultural Revolution to be one of his greatest achievements, by the 1970s there was -

and there still remains—widespread hostility toward the Cultural Revolution in China. The Gang of Four—the faction most closely associated with Mao—was by the early to mid 1970s especially disliked by many of the Chinese masses.

It's interesting that you would say that the current Deng regime in China is "socialist in words, fascist in deeds." What has Deng done that is "fascist" which Mao didn't do? If your justification for Maoist China is that life-spans doubled, health care, education and production improved, then why not support Deng too? Production has also increased under Deng. But "productivity" by itself is a capitalist tool of measurement. For that matter, the u.s.a. would deserve support too if these were our only ways to measure "success." And the health care & education improvements, while distributed more fairly to more poor peasants and workers by the communist government, came largely as a result of improved technology and distribution—something that could have been done by any system—bourgeois democratic, state socialist, state capitalist, fascist, or whatever. That's not to take away from the Chinese communists for improving health care, education, and other services, because credit is certainly due for good things. But it still is not even close to any sort of "proof" that Maoism is the universally applicable revolutionary ideology.

You Get Tunnel Vision On the Shining Path: There's More Than One Road Forward

Unfortunately for Maoists, we don't live in a black-and-white dualistic world. There are more choices than just dualities like "outright anti-communist reaction or Maoism" or "anarchist idealism or Maoist materialism." I'm not an anti-communist

reactionary or a Maoist. I criticize idealism and use the framework of dialectical and historical materialism, as did Bakunin and many other anarchists.

There are many potential roads to liberation, but I think history has shown the results of creating a new repressive state apparatus—even one that calls itself socialist. Concentrating power in the hands of one tight centralized group who believe that they have an exclusive grasp on 'absolute truth' has led to disaster again and again. It is inherently authoritarian and will never lead to a new society where "the people" actually govern their own lives.

So to Maoists and potential Maoists out there who truly desire a world without oppression, who truly want to abolish all authority relations—keep your commitment to revolution, to anti-imperialism and internationalism, but ditch the claim to "scientific truth", ditch the state power trap, and break out of the tunnel-vision orthodoxy. Study and learn from Marx, Lenin and Mao. But they don't have a monopoly on revolutionary ideas, and there's no reason to replicate the authoritarian organizations and nations they created. We simply don't have to, and they haven't gotten us closer to a world without oppression or created situations of direct popular rule in a collective, egalitarian way.

Maoists are right that we need to build

revolutionary organization—but not another group which believes it is the only one with the "correct line" based on some "science." While we should analyze soci-

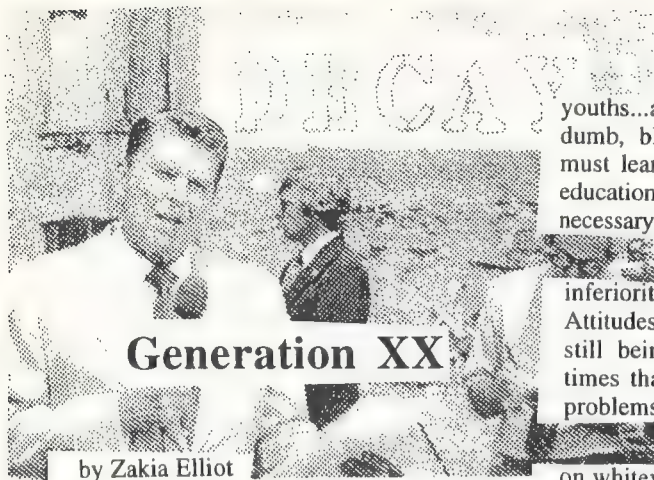
ety and try to figure out the best way forward, we need to have the humility to admit that we may be wrong and others may be right. No ideology and no party has a lock on the truth, and other revolutionary groups whose ideologies differ slightly from yours are not the enemy. We don't need to create groups that want all the power for themselves—we need to build revolutionary organizations that see their role as building alliances with other groups and social forces, in order to create and enable situations of direct popular rule.

Another thing that Maoists (and revolutionary nationalists) have right is that we need to struggle to liberate territory. As Malcolm X said, revolutions are fought for control over land. But fighting for land does not mean that you have to set up a government or state on that land. Land can be liberated and then popular power can be expressed in different ways. I repeat, creating a new repressive state apparatus is a dead end and I don't see it playing a progressive role in the struggle for liberation.

I believe we need to honestly sum up the experience of the socialist and anarchist movements, as well as other experiences of mass uprisings and resistance, and

(continued on pg 23)





Generation XX

by Zakia Elliot
#24941
Box 665 NCI
Somers, CT 06071

I am prompted to write this revelation, in the hopes of shedding some light (insight) on the Dynamics of being a member of what we have termed Generation X.

While conversating with a young prisoner, locked next to me, having spoken to him many times, I came to realize that this young man, and many others like him were rebelling against the system as well as the older generation, by refusing to get an education. This is not a unique revelation, but it hit me like a ton of bricks.

I realize that they actually found it chic not to get education, and part of the rationale, or justification, is that the European (white man) runs the educational system. And they believe it only serves the interest of the European in the final analysis, to participate in to them being a part as co-conspirator in their own oppression and demise. This is a difficult proposition, and cannot be rejected in its entirety, because it is peppered with truth. The problem is, it only accentuates the negative and minimizes the positive, and we cannot allow this kind of thought pattern to permeate the minds of our

youths...allowing them to remain deaf, dumb, blind and un-informed. They must learn that they need the basics of education, in order to gain the power necessary to out distance the myths of

inferiority and superiority of the races. Attitudes born of ancient prejudices, still being perpetrated. Race is more times than not the easy answer to our problems, the quick fix "lets blame it

on whitey." This mentality has become so prevalent that it short cuts rational thinking.

We are at the acme of a generation of youths in rebellions against

themselves, and we have a duty to intervene and not sit by passively watching the dreams and hopes of the future snuff themselves out. Our youth need discipline in their lives, and do understand, discipline comes from the root word "disciple"...which means to teach and educate. With the proper discipline our youth will learn to overcome the political domination, the effects of racism and modern day slavery, and take control of their lives and the systems that effect their lives. But as long as they are shackled with the chains of ignorance and selfishness they will not be able to realize their inherent worth. While this system exists, without the proper discipline their lives will become a self-fulfilling prophecy, seeking their worth in the falsehood of drugs, prostitution, gang violence and other degrading enterprises, becoming like a dirge of lost souls.

We must discipline them with the understanding that liberation (freedom) begins in the minds, one must liberate their mind from the chains of ignorance before the chains of physical bondage can be broken. This we must instill in the hearts and minds of our youth, or fear another Generation XX.

Blurbs & Contacts

Papers and journals

The following is a list of papers we've received and would like to pass on to you. The list is by no means complete.

Black Autonomy

323 Broadway Ave. East
Box 914
Seattle, WA 98102

Issue 4 contains: Komboa Ervin's account of anti-police brutality organizing in Chatanooga; "The Poor People's Survival Movement: A Revolutionary Draft Proposal for Going on the Offensive"; and articles on the Zapatistas, welfare reform, and a proposal for an amnesty campaign for all Black political prisoners and POWs (also printed in this issue of Claustrophobia). Free to prisoners, \$2 otherwise

The Black Panther

P.O. Box 16330
Jersey City, NJ 07306

Winter '95 contains: articles on the city's attacks on Harlem street vendors, welfare reform in NYC, Black Political Prisoners and POWs, and solidarity with Mumia Abu-Jamal; an examination of the new death penalty laws by Safiya Bukhari-Alston; "The Black Codes Revisited, True Crime in Amerikka" explaining the crime bill in the context of genocide against Blacks and the struggle against the new (and old) world order, by Sundiata Acoli; an editorial "The New World Order = Neo-Fascism"; and an interview with historian John Henrik Clarke. \$1

Colonial War Review

197 Hunter St. W
Peterborough, ON K9H 2L1

Spring '95 contains prisoner solidarity and anti-fascist news and alot of information on North American indigenous resistance to colonialism including: "Cultural Appropriation: A

First Nation's Perspective", "Multiculturalism: the Immigrant Perspective", the AIM occupation of Revenue Canada, opposition to the Human Genome Diversity Project, and Zapatista solidarity. Free to prisoners, others \$1.

Crossroad

1340 West Irving Park Road
Suite 108
Chicago, IL 60613

May-June '95 contains a report from the new Ad-max in Florence, CO; "Revolutionary Feminism: An Africentric Perspective"; description of the Nkrumah-Washington Community Learning Center, "We Education To Liberate"; "De Politics of Klass and Privilege Inside de KKKamps" describing neo-colonial contradictions within the New Afrikan prison population; "What's In A Name: The Need For Ideological Consistency" on the clarification of the meaning of nationality, in particular, New Afrikan nationality; and "The Release of Mark Cook: A Question of Justice"

The Jamal Journal

P.O. Box 19709
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Organizing and solidarity paper for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The recent issue contains extensive summary of the legal case filed on June 5; coverage of solidarity actions around the country and internationally; and Mumia's most recent essays. Contact your local Mumia solidarity group or send a dollar or more to International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Slingshot

3124 Shattuck Ave
Berkeley, CA 94705

Anarchist paper from the Bay Area with news of pirate radio, squatted gardens, food not bombs, and solidarity actions with Asian sweatshop workers; also several

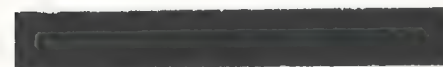
articles on visions of a transformed future. free to prisoners, otherwise send a donation.

Turning The Tide

Box 1990

Burbank, CA 91507

Summer '95 contains extensive reporting on the militia movement including: "Militias Rooted In White Supremacy" which shows the geneology and political affiliations of the militia movement to be deeply rooted in white settlerism/white supremacy; coverage of militia activities in southern California; "Leaderless Resistance and the Oklahoma City Bombing"



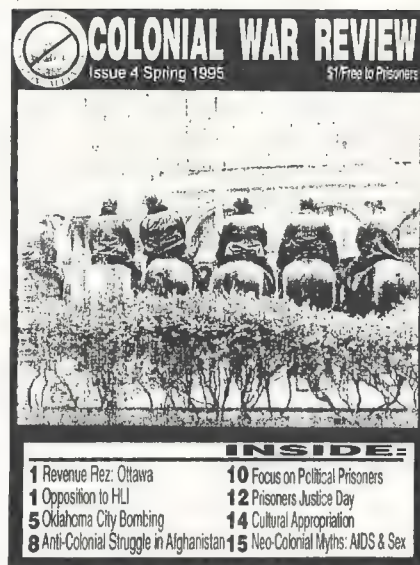
ANNOUNCEMENTS:

Southern Cross Network

The Black Fist Collective in Texas is initiating a network of Prisoner support activists in the South. For more information or to get involved, contact Black Fist, 15110 Bellaire, Box 317, Houston, TX 77083.

Texas Prison Labor Union

All prisoners inside the Texas Kamps should be informed of the founding of the Texas Prison Labor Union. The Union is in its ground level state of organizing. The official charter is presently being drafted and filed with the state. The T.P.L.U is being organized to fight for better labor conditions for the thousands locked-up on the texas plantation. In texas, prisoners receive no wages for their labor. We encourage the assistance and solidarity of anyone with experience in labor organizing and in particular the legal aspects thereof. For more information contact:



1 Revenue Rez: Ottawa	10 Focus on Political Prisoners
1 Opposition to HJ	12 Prisoners Justice Day
5 Oklahoma City Bombing	14 Cultural Appropriation
8 Anti-Colonial Struggle in Afghanistan	15 Neo-Colonial Myths: AIDS & Sex

RICKY LONG #490671

RT. 3, BOX 59

ROSHARON, TX 77583

WILLIE A. MILTON #561014

RT 3, BOX 59

ROSHARON, TX 77583

Didn't Get Prison News Service #51?

Unfortunately, there was a major screw up with the mailing of that issue (May-June 1995). The mailing list preparation is done by an outside company but they work with the list and information that we send to them. Due to some simple human error probably my own, the prisoner-numbers were left off the mailing labels. Needless to say this meant that many of them were not delivered. This really depresses us since it means that many of our subscribers are not going to get to see this issue. It is also going to cost us a lot of money since we'll end up paying for them to be returned. And we don't have very many copies left to mail out a 2nd time since we had already reduced the number of copies printed because our printing costs are rising so

much. This is the first time such a screw-up happened and it will certainly be the last time. Please pass the word around to other prisoners who are wondering what happened. Our next issue will be out in September. Our commitment remains. But we have to eat this loss of money and copies. Our apologies and regrets.

Thanks,
Jim Campbell

Toronto Prison Activist Conference Cancelled

For those who haven't yet heard, the planned ABC / Prison Activist Conference in Toronto at the end of August has been cancelled. Contact Arm the Spirit for more information.

Read Voice of the Oppressed by Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey

Voice of the Oppressed is a political pamphlet written by political prisoner Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey. Lorenzo documents his political history and the climate that has kept him in prison for the last 18 years. He also writes about the hidden history of the struggle of Moors in prison with special focus on Indiana. The pamphlet is being sold to raise money for the Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey Freedom Committee. The pamphlet was written by Lorenzo and was produced by the Brew City Anti-Authoritarian Collective. Send \$3.00 for one copy (leave payable line blank) to: BCAC • P.O.B. 93312 • Milwaukee, WI 53203.

ERN: Shaka Shakur Success

The Indiana DOC threatened to send several prisoners being held in the NSB Unit of Indiana State Prison to the infamous SHU in Wabash, IN. NSB is being closed down due to the poor conditions on the unit, brought to the attention of the DOC by petitions from the prisoners. Prisoners in SHU are held in strict, high-tech confinement. They are kept in small cells, shackled every time they leave their cells, kept

isolated from other prisoners at all times (even during recreation), and are subjected to a strip search and anal search every time they leave the Unit.

Most of the prisoners singled out to be sent to the SHU are New Afrikan and are on NSB unit as the result of a lawsuit which successfully resulted in their removal from the Management Control Complex in Westville, IN. There is room on other units within Indiana State Prison for the prisoners; this is clearly a repressive move on the part of the administration.

One of these prisoners, activist and organizer Shaka Shakur, had just begun to receive medical treatment for nerve damage in his back. He has been fighting for 12 months to receive this care, which has only just begun. He visited a specialist and had some tests done. The SHU does not have the capacity to deal with serious medical problems, and treatment can only be received at an outside hospital, which is difficult due to bureaucratic procedures.

In response to the planned move, a call was put out for letters and phone calls to Commissioner De Bruyn and to Superintendent Parke at Indiana State Prison. The decision was reversed with the aid of calls and letters sent by the Emergency Response Network, Wisconsin CURE, Human Rights Watch, and those who responded to calls put out over e-mail. Several people spoke directly with DOC officials and were assured that no transfer to SHU was going to take place. In addition, Shaka Shakur is currently receiving better medical treatment. He has been taken to see a specialist who has confirmed that the problem is a pinched nerve.

Shaka writes: "We can count this one as a victory for Our side. Please thank everyone for me that showed support. I definitely appreciate it." Instead of being transferred to the SHU, it appears that the prisoners are going to be sent to the State Prison in Pendleton, IN until the NSB unit is renovated.

Contact Claustrophobia ABC to get on the Emergency Response Network.

PRISON ACTIVIST CONTACTS:

ABC Discussion Bulletin
(for the new ABC Federation)
c/o NJ ABC
PO Box 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508

Arm the Spirit
PO Box 6326, Stn A
Toronto, ONT M5W 1P7
CANADA

Baltimore ABC
PO Box 22203
Baltimore, MD 21203-4203

**Federation of Black Community
Partisans**
323 Broadway Ave E. Box #914
Seattle, WA 98102

Black Fist
15110 Bellaire, Box 317
Houston, TX 77083

**Brew City Anti-Authoritarian
Collective**
PO Box 93312
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Bronx ABC
PO Box 1034
Bronx, NY 10454

Fourth World ABC
(distributes literature free to prisoners)
PO Box 22809
Newark, NJ 07101

**Love & Rage Prison Abolition
Working Group**
PO Box 77432
Washington DC 20013

Minneapolis ABC
PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407

New Jersey ABC
PO Box 8532
Paterson, NJ 07508

**Out of Time / Out of Control
Lesbian Committee to Support
Political Prisoners**
3543 118th St Box 30
San Francisco, CA 94110

Prison Activist Resource Center
PO Box 3201
Berkeley, CA 94703
p: 510-845-8813
f: 510-845-8816

Prison Legal News
P.O. Box 1684
Lake Worth, FL 33460

Prison News Service
PSC Publishers
PO Box 5052, Stn. A
Toronto, Ontario MSW 1W4
CANADA

Raze the Walls
PO Box 22774
Seattle, WA 98122-0774

Stop Prisoner Rape
P.O. Box 2713
Manhattanville Station
New York, NY 10027-8817

DC AREA CONTACTS:

ACLU Prison Project
1875 Connecticut Ave NW, Suite 410
Washington DC 20009

**Coalition Against Political
Imprisonment**
P.O. Box 56422
Washington, DC 20011
The Coalition publishes a monthly
newsletter America on Trial covering the
racist use of the criminal justice system
mostly in the DC area.

CURE-DC
PO Box 2310
Washington DC 20013

Larry W. Giddings Update

In January of 1993 I was paroled from the sentences given to me by the State of Washington. At that time I (once again) became a Federal prisoner. This time serving three consecutive 25 year sentences (75 years). In March of 1993 I received a "Sentence Computation Summary" stating that I would become "eligible" for parole after serving 10 years, in 2003. This "Summary" also informed me that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) had filed a "detainer" on me from Oakdale, Louisiana.

As of this date, March 1995, I



have served 26 months of the mandatory 10 years before my "eligibility" for parole. Everyone must remember that "eligibility" merely means that I can go to the Parole Board in 2003 and they are allowed to "consider" me for parole at that time. Very few, if any, political cases have actually received parole after the minimum. In fact, most have been required to serve the maximum, or two-thirds, for a "mandatory release." In my case, mandatory release arrives in 50 years from 1993. Therefore, in my case, it would be correct to say that I must be in prison for 10 to 50 years before being paroled. After 10 years it is up to the Parole Board if I am released or not; until 50 years has passed, in which case they must release me.

At any time between now and my release scheduling I am within six months of being set free, the INS must be notified. INS will then place me in the Immigration Detention Center in Oakdale, Louisiana, where any possible hearings on my deportation to Germany will take place. I don't foresee any hearings, so I will be deported at the completion of the 6 months.

The only way for my sentence to change is by winning something in court. I have nothing filed in court now and haven't had anything in court since 1984.

In August of 1993 I was transferred to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania per my request, in order to visit parents and friends. I will be in Lewisburg for the foreseeable future.

Many thanks to all of you that have stayed in touch and maintained our friendship throughout these years.

Larry W. Giddings #10917-086
PO Box 1000
Lewisburg, PA 17837

CURE-VA
PO Box 19453
Alexandria, VA 22320

Malcolm X Grassroots Movement
11160 Veirs Mill Rd, L15-200
Wheaton, MD 20902

**New Afrikan Network in Defense
of Political Prisoners & POWs**
PO Box 90604
Washington DC 20090

Fight From Another Front

(continued from page 5)

life out of him as much as they can before August 17 to make their job easier. That's what the last 13 years have been about. But Mumia stays strong and tells us, "This is just a fight from another front. You know. Don't panic folks."

With the signing of the death warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal, a new stage was set in the struggle for his freedom. The state calls it "Phase II" and without our intervention it ends with lethal injection on August 17. However, we *do* intervene, we *do* not take phase II as some final indication of our action's futility. In reality the signing of the death warrant has allowed us to take the cause to even more people, spreading resistance. Very shortly a new stage will be set once again. We will either discover that the state is prepared to overcome what stands in its way and move to carry out the execution on schedule or we will see the appeal placed by Mumia eclipse his execution with a legal process extending possibly two or three years. So we must strategize with both of these possibilities in mind. We have been successful so far in slowing down a very insistent and rabid campaign by the Fraternal Order of Police and the state. Our chances have never been so good.

The appeal for a new trial placed June 5 by Mumia's lawyers included motions for the recusal (removal) of Judge Albert Sabo from the case, the protection of witnesses from police harassment and the recovery of missing documents. The motion of recusal of judge sabo was backed up by an international phone and fax campaign to sabo and two of his superiors on the Philadelphia court. The three judges received an overwhelming number of phone calls and faxes that persisted for a month. It was probably the largest mobilization of Mumia's supporters yet.

And yet the results have not been sufficient. After a week since the hearings began sabo has refused to remove himself and is stalling on whether he will grant a stay of execution.

If the appeal is successful in temporarily staying the execution it must not lead to a de-escalation of struggle. Even if the legal process takes several years it will be a road of constant uncertainty with possible execution lurking around every corner. Thus while we will be afforded more time to reach more people we must still be prepared to take action on a large scale and with militance. The 11th hour could last years or it could last this month.

The necessity now as we are faced with a possible execution is we express to people that the situation with Mumia is important, urgent and winnable. We must inspire people to rise up against an oppressor who is coming for Mumia today, and tomorrow someone else. To do this we have to escalate our activities. Escalation must mean taking action in areas where before there was silence. This is the power of surprise. We must start fires everywhere. This is the threat that the system will have no peace. The more profoundly we move the more people will want to move with us. And yet when we escalate it must not mean beating our heads against a wall, pursuing futility and alienating many people we're organizing with. In just what ways do we escalate? This is a local question but there are examples. I think the phone and fax campaign to the Philadelphia judges was a good escalation at the time. As well, the recent actions at sludge sabo's house have the potential of bringing his neighbors into the fray. Both of these actions have succeeded in exposing Sabo as a "prosecutor in robes" and causing a

good amount of the Philadelphia establishment recently to oppose him as an embarrassment and liability to the system. Our demonstrations must also escalate. We need to direct our demonstrations and marches towards the disruption of the institutions of power which are plotting Mumia's murder. *Our demonstrations should demonstrate to the state a threat to their rule and show the people the possibility of such a disruption.*

Everywhere we must be reaching out to new allies as we plan unexpected fissures and exposures of the system. At the same time that we involve more people in the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal (which is the struggle to defend ourselves against growing police state repression) we must be planning actions which will raise the stakes to the system if they dare kill Mumia.

Anarchism vs. Maoism

(continued from pg 19)

try to come up with new forms, new ways of liberating territory and expressing popular power. The old ways have proven to be failures. In this respect the Zapatistas have been an inspiring and refreshing influence in raising the cry for "land and liberty" and liberating territory, but breaking out of the mold by encouraging new forms of popular power to develop outside of their exclusive control within their liberated areas.

The world is in chaos, and unless we come up with new solutions, things will just keep spiraling further into chaos. We need to get organized—but in new anti-authoritarian ways. While many former anarchists have certainly become Leninists or Maoists, many former Leninists have broken with authoritarianism and joined the anarchist movement. As the

anarchist movement becomes better organized, I'm confident that many more will follow.

**State Power Won't Bring Liberation!
There's No Such Thing as
the "True Revolutionary Science!"
Smash All Power Relations!
Liberate Your Desires!**

Struggle for Parole?

(continued from page 11)

Twelve and fifteen years of imprisonment has not been a pleasant experience. It has been a physically and mentally exhausting ordeal. We need your continued support to prevent our physical and mental destruction within these concrete and solitary walls. I dearly miss my beloved wife Alva, my daughter Noemi, and my son Carlos, and I desire to be amongst them. All of the incarcerated patriots desire to be reunited with their families and community.

In conclusion, I would like to thank all those who wrote letters to the parole commission and have worked for my release and the release of all Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners. Special thanks to Dr. Luis Nieves Falcon, Lic. Noel Colon Martinez, and Revda. Eunice Santana Melecio who agreed to attend my parole hearing, and to the Honorable Luis V. Gutierrez, Nydia Velasquez, and Jose Serrano for their courage and commitment to justice. I have an inalienable human right to rid my nation of colonialism, and remain committed to being a protagonist in the struggle for national independence and the freedom of all Puerto Rican patriots.

Edwin Cortes #92153-024
Unit 3J #14
PO Box 33
Terre Haute, IN 47808

What is Prison Like?

by Darrell Limbocker
Rte 1, Box 150
378848Y320
Tennessee Colony, TX 75884

1. What is prison like/ It's not the same for everyone. The prison I know is different from the one you know or heard about on tv or the news.

2. Prison is a place where the first person you see looks like an all-american college boy...and you're surprised. Later on, you're disgusted because the people on the outside still have prejudices about the prisoners they once knew about.

3. Prison is a place where you write letters and can't think of anything to say; where you write fewer and fewer as time goes by. And finally stop writing altogether...because you get few or none in return.

4. Prison is a place where hope springs eternal; where each parole appearance means a chance to get out, even if the odds are hopelessly stacked against you.

5. Prison is a place where you find gray hairs on your head, or where you find it starting to disappear. It's a place where you get false teeth, stronger glasses, and aches and pains you never felt before. It's a place where you grow old... and you worry about it....Sometimes a little sometimes alot.

6. Prison is a place where the flame in every man burns low, for some it goes out. But for most, it flickers weakly, sometime flashing brightly, but never seems to burn as bright as it once did.

7. Prison is a place where you hate through clenched teeth: where to kick, beat, and scream and you wonder if the psychologists know what they're talking about when they say that you actually hate your own self.

8. Prison is a place where you learn nobody needs you or loves you and the world outside goes on by without your presence.

9. Prison is a place where you can go for months or years without feeling the touch of a ladies hand, or hearing a kind word. It's a place where most or all friendships are shallow...and you know it.

10. Prison is a place where you hear about a friends divorce, and you didn't even know they were married. It's a place where you hear about your friends kids graduating from high school...and you thought they hadn't started yet. Then the lapse of time and loss of memory eats at you, until you learn to repress the thought so well.



11. Prison is a place where you wait for a promised vist. When it doesn't come, you worry about a car wreck. Then you find out the reason your vistor didn't come, you're glad it wasn't serious... and then you get depressed that such a little thing could keep them from coming to see you.

12. Prison is a place where you feel sorry for yourself. Then get disgusted with yourself, then you get mad for feeling that way and mentally try to change the subject... sometimes you can ... sometimes you can't.

13. Prison is a place where you are smarter then the parole board, because you know which ones will go straight and the ones who won't. You're wrong just as often as they are, but you never admit it...and neither do they.

14. Prison is a place where you forget the sound of a baby's cry. You forget the sound of a dog's bark, or even the sound of true laughter and joy.

15. Prison is a place where a letter from home, or from your lawyer can be like a telegram from the war dept. When you see it laying on your bed, you're afraid to open it. But you do anyway, and usually end up disappointed or angry... and someday you wonder why you were so scared of receiving a bit of good news for a change.

16. Prison is a place where, if you're married, you watch your marriage die. It's a place where you learn that absence does not make the heart fonder, and you stop blaming your wife for wanting a real man, instead of a fading memory of

one.

17. Prison is a place where you go to bed before you're tired, where you pull the blanket over your head when you're not cold to hide the tears and pain. It's a place where you try to escape...by reading, playing games, by dreaming, or by going slowly and subtly insane.

18. Prison is a place where you fool yourself, where you promise yourself you'll live a better life when you get out. Sometimes you do...more often than not you don't.

19. Prison is a place you will most likely leave someday. When you do, you wonder how everyone can remain so calm when you're so excited. When the cab driver goes over 25 miles per hour you want to tell him to slow down, but you don't, because you know it sounds foolish. So you just sit there trying to take in all you've missed.

20. Prison is a place where you lose respect for the law because you saw it

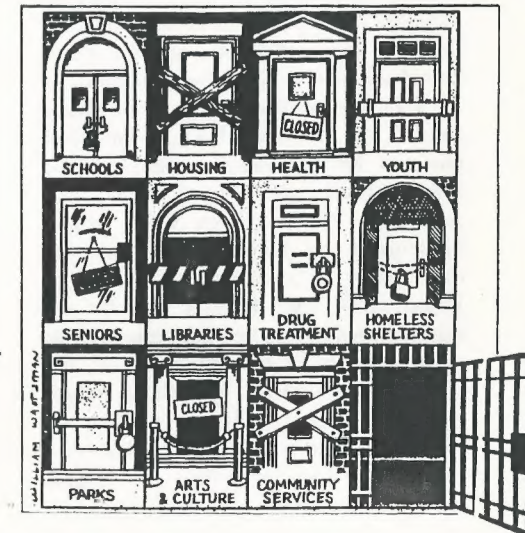
raw, twisted, and bent; ignored and blown out of proportion to suit the people who enforce it.

21. Prison is a place where you see people who you do not like or know, and you wonder if you're like them. It is a place where you strive to remain civilized, but you lose ground. Then you realize the change that has taken place in your heart. You don't like what you see in yourself.

22. Prison is a place where you don't take things for granted; like you did when you were free. Then you wonder why free people still do, but you realize... you used to be free too...

23. Prison is a place where you start to realize you need to change your ways...for the better. You've finally gotten to the point of being sick and tired of being sick and tired. So you try something different...you reached out...you cried out...to God....

Then you came to know... that "prison" is really only in your mind. When will you ever break free of the prison you hold within your own mind?



The Need for Prisoner Support

by Harold H. Thompson

I recently had a trusted comrade and friend request that I send him my thoughts on the importance of prisoner support work by the various movements, in particular the anarchist movement both nationally and internationally. I thought I would share just a few of my thoughts on this topic of import with you now through my brother.

First, it is important to point out none of us is immune from arrest and prosecution for any number of alleged crimes once we have placed ourselves into the eye of the storm of struggle against the monsters of the earth who believe their station in life gives them the legitimate power to enslave us in whatever form they so choose, to use us up, throw us away and profit by the blood we shed and the sweat of our bodies in their wage slave shops, factories and mills of capitalism. Once we step out in any form of protest then the power of the state falls upon us with unrelenting force. We are subject to arrest and imprisonment at any time, most of us, simply because we choose to be who we are, live the lives we choose in spite of the plans others make for us, and dare to be different because our eyes are open to the realities of our future wearing the yoke of capitalism around our necks like beasts of burden, not equal human beings, unless we throw the weight on our back off to stand in the sun in our rightful place. Look at the person beside you, across the way from you, and then fully realize that individual is in danger of arrest and so are you because you dare to be different than those who seek to control us desire you to be especially if your life is governed by the tenets of anarchism or you believe, and have

undertaken, direct action against your oppressors.

The 'system' portrays those of us on the inside of gulag walls, within the ever increasing number of jails and prisons being constructed, as being the equivalent of the proverbial biblical "unclean," people to be feared, less than humans, and not to be bothered with or worth any degree of outside support. It amazes me how many intelligent people within the many struggles have bought into the disinformation put out by the system to varying degrees. The majority of the unfortunate residents of the gulags are for the most part just like other people who are free only through a twist of their destiny they was arrested, stood at trial, and imprisoned. The system provides the sensationalistic image of those inside gulag walls being a bad lot best steered clear of because the system fears association of those inside and outside. It fears the might of numbers which reside inside who have nothing to lose and everything to gain by the destruction of the system. Inside is an army waiting to happen which needs education, direction, and support. The system desires nothing more than to maintain a wall of silence around the gulags and isolate prisoners to break their minds and spirits. I have seen bodies broken and minds fragmented forever by the brutal hands of the keepers or the clever use of their weaksuck inmate lackies. I have seen many men reach out to the outside struggles with heartfelt letters begging for information about the various movements, education about them, seeking compassion and comradeship.

I have seen only a few, a handful of those who make contact, who are allowed to learn, to grow, to realize who they are and their potential value to

themselves and to those outside gulag walls. I have seen far many, many more give up and eventually gravitate toward the hate groups which are in abundance within the gulags as they are out there. These eventual recruits to the ranks of the hate groups could have been soldiers within our ranks but those who claim to be revolutionaries outside chose to ignore their very existence. They gravitated where they would be accepted as people, as individuals and now instead of fighting alongside of us to bring the system itself to its knees in defeat, to restore a power which should have never been allowed to be taken from the people back to them, these misguided, embittered souls buy into the ignorant ideology of hatred forever keeping us divided, apart, misunderstanding and fighting each other which is a much favored manipulation of those who profit from our division as a people. I am not stating the gulags do not hold a fair share of social predators and I am speaking of social prisoners who have become politicized within gulag walls either through their own learning efforts or the system itself has reacted against their alleged crime(s) in such a way as to politicize them, the forgotten incarcerated members of the various outside struggles, and those persecuted by the system because they embrace politics which is abrasive to the system by its very nature, such as the politics of anarchism I embrace.

I am merely pointing out the obvious pitfall of not supporting those seeking the tools to become politicized. I am often blunt, or frank, to the point of pain so I do apologize if my words have made anybody uncomfortable but one sobering thought really needs to bring a wake-up call type of feeling of discomfort with it. That thought is I

am here today sitting in a steel and concrete tomb-like cage writing these words to you...but you might actually be behind gulag walls within the near, or even far, future writing comparable thoughts to the outside if they come for you in the morning...

Sadder still than those social prisoners seeking, starving for, education and direction ignored by the various groups, collectives and revolutionary movements are those souls captured during direct, or even indirect, actions only to discover once in captivity they appear to have somehow been deemed not worthy of the support of their comrades and hence soon forgotten...

One conceptual truth screams out in my heart to be voiced so I will state it now. Any political movement, or people's struggle, which fails to provide support to fallen comrades is doomed to certain failure as certain as we all are that daylight chases dark of night away!

Prisoner support should be considered of very top priority importance within all political movements, and with all activists, as we, you or I, never know when gulag gates will slam behind us or when those gates to the outside will open again to allow our passage through them once the system has us in its' iron grasp...

I have endured many hard years, over a decade and a half, within the gulags of this state, existing within the festered, swollen belly of the beast of capitalism. I spent the first decade banging my head and heart against a wall of silence, attempting to reach out to ears that appeared to be deaf and eyes which appeared to be blind to my existence in hell. I never gave up and have earned the right to speak out truth with the shedding of my blood, the pain of this, in past beaten, tired body and my spirit

(continued on page 7)

ABC FEDERATION WAR CHEST

The Anarchist Black Cross Federation is operating a program designed to send monthly checks into those Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War who have been receiving insufficient, little or no support during their imprisonment. Currently, with each member giving \$5.00 per week, we are able to support 3 P.O.W.'s sending them a check of \$60.00 each month. With guidance from the prisoners, a list of other P.P.'s and P.O.W.'s who are in great need of this type of assistance is being made. Though it is new and still small, the program is having an impact. As Sekou Odinga (a P.O.W. currently receiving a monthly check) writes, "Thanks much for the support you've been organizing, I really appreciate it. After not having any or very little support for so long, it now seems like (people) have all of a sudden realized that I'm alive." We already have more people on the list than we have resources. We ask that you endorse this program by giving \$5.00 per week (\$20.00 per month) or any other amount to this effort to increase the number of prisoners being supported monthly. A newsletter is being published that documents all money received and to which prisoners it went. The prisoners addresses will be published so that endorsers may write and hold us accountable to our claims.

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